















# HAILGAN

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ORGAN OF THE SOMALI  
REVOLUTIONARI SOCIALIST PARTY



## ° C.C. DECISION ON SOMALI-USSR RELATIONS

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### Self determination and African unity

### Cooperatives in Somalia

### The legitimacy of the western Soma- li struggle

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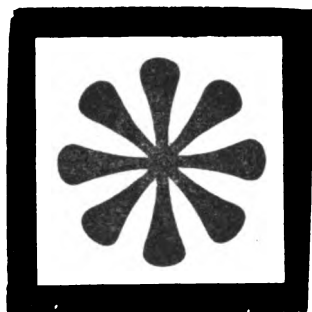
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## EDITORIAL NOTES

# WHAT IS BEHIND THE SRSP DECISION ON SOMALI-USSR RELATIONS ?

The decision taken by the CC of the SRSP on November 13th to abrogate the Somali Soviet friendship Treaty came after a long period of patience, after taking a careful balance sheet of all options and possibilities. For sometime now, the USSR has been pursuing policies vis a vis the Horn Africa inimical to SDR. The decision did not come about as a result of emotional attitude, careful observation and analysis showed that USSR policies have objectively made the USSR an enemy of the SDR.

The Soviet - Somali friendship Treaty reflected common interests and principles. The relations between the USSR and Somalia were founded on mutual advantages and shared perspectives. As time went on, it became obvious that the USSR was pursuing policies contrary to the spirit and letter of the Treaty. A decline in the relations between the two former friends was naturally visible and a rupture in the friendship treaty became inevitable.

The SDR spared no efforts in appealing both to the USSR and Cuba to stop their menacing interference in the affairs within the Ethiopian Empire. The USSR and Cuba had, however, taken an implacable stand and they remained deaf to all appeals, to all forms of reasoning and friendly advice. They intensified their brazen interference expected of them.

The Soviet Union continued to pour huge quantities of highly sophisticated weapons into Ethiopia and Cuba adventuristically poured in soldiers to fight colonial wars against national liberation movements. In addition to these the USSR began to orchestrate a vicious propaganda campaign against the SDR, seeking to portray Somalia as a tool of imperialist intrigues which is not absolutely the case in the Horn of Africa. Such propaganda clouds serve as a smokescreen to conceal the truth; the truth is that the USSR, for state strategic interests,

wants to use Mengistu's Ethiopia as strong foothold in Africa. They see its great potentiality as a «Client state». Accordingly, they turn a deaf ear to the protests of all those progressive forces being destroyed by the Addis-Ababa regime. Similarly they do not wish to consider the problems of the colonized nations within Ethiopia; in fact they are willing and eager to provide Mengistu with all the necessary supports - political economic and military to wage genocidal wars against Eritrean and Western Somali peoples. Such policies betray the principles of justice and the merits of struggling for liberty, socialism and peace. The USSR and her allies are pursuing classical machiavellian policies guided by the assertion: «The end justifies all means».

Following the tension and the relaxation in the Somali - USSR relations, speculative questions have arisen: which path will Somalia take? On whom must she rely? to answer these questions one must note that since the October 21st 1969 Revolution, Somalia has been pursuing a socialist oriented path to development, and that such a choice reflects on objective historical necessity; it was not imposed subjectively from outside. The first Charter of the Revolution declared the need to struggle for freedom, unity and progress of the Somali people; This struggle will continue until the objectives have been realised. Socialism is not a monopoly of the Soviet Union, every country has the right to adopt socialism to fill its specific conditions and needs.

The controversy in the Horn of Africa is not a border dispute between the SDR and Ethiopia, it is the outcome of the liberation struggles of the Western Somali People, Eritrea and other nationalities waging wars against a century-old Ethiopian colonialism. It is a consequence of inevitable armed struggles of freedom fighters against colonialism, after all peaceful means had been exhausted as their right for self-determination continued to be denied.

It is incumbent upon all the progressive nations of the world to pay careful attention to the situation in the Horn where historical problems have been aggravated and the progressive forces are being exterminated. Every nation on earth, no matter how big or small, strong or weak, has the right to seek and safeguard its freedom, unity and dignity. No power on earth can eliminate such aspirations, and no one can in the long run, divert the course of progress, unity and peace of this region.



## Political, Social and Economic Affairs

# The foundation of the general federation of the Somali cooperatives

(Adan Muse Jibril)

The founding Congress of the General Federation of the Somali Cooperatives will take place on the 7th-10th January 1978.

All Somali cooperative union will take part in the congress which will be organised by the cooperative Bureau of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.

To mark the importance of founding such an organisation of a cooperative, we have to point out two fundamental points:-

- 1) The Role of the cooperatives in the economic and social development of the country.
- 2) To what level the implementation of the cooperatives reached since 21st October Revolution.

### ROLES OF THE COOPERATIVES IN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS IN SOMALIA.

As we know, the developing countries inherited backward socio-economic and political systems from their colonizers. This makes it imperative for us to cope with these problems and responsibilities heroically and courageously.

Soon after independence, the colonized peoples discovered the acute of problems of underdevelopments that faced them. Experience

has it that there is a close relationship between economic underdevelopment and the neo-colonial situation that these countries found themselves bound to the metropolitan. When this relationship was discovered, it became possible for serious leaders to change this situation and bring about profound social and economic transformations.

Somalia is one of the developing countries which depends on the development of the mode of production in the interior. (The vast majority of the Somali population are nomads who live in the interior). The development of the mode of production in the interior is not only enough, but also to change or develop the forces of production is necessary.

### THE IMPLEMENTATION OF COOPERATIVES IN THE SDR.

The 21st October Revolution proved the way to a socialist-oriented development. Accordingly, many important projects were implemented since then. The implementation of these projects brought about a wide development in every sector. Founding an organisation of a cooperative system is considered as one of the most im-

portant achievements of the Somali Revolution. Law Number 40 of October, 1973, concerning the development of the cooperatives was not acknowledged without a political justification. Before this, came a decision aimed freeing the economy of the country from exploitation.

On this basis, agricultural cooperatives came into existence, as the most important and active cooperative in our economy. Though the establishment and management law of the cooperatives came out in 1973 yet it is doubtless that principally the political organisation of the cooperatives began with the birth of the 21st October Revolution. However actively under the guidance of Somali Revolutionary Council, the cooperatives were started in 1972. It was directly administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and political Bureau of the SRSP.

Though it was only a short time since the birth of 21st October Revolution, yet there is no doubt that the formation of a cooperatives system that is in an advanced stage qualitatively and quantitatively which contributes a big sphere in the economic production of the country. Now there are 47 cooperatives

(elementary), known as «Ujeddoo Badan» multipurpose) and 211 bigger cooperatives (intermediate) which are known as «Tocab wa-daag». These cooperatives use an area of 29173 hectares. 19808 Hectares depend on irrigation system while the rest 9365 Hectares depend on rain water. The number of the people in these cooperatives is about 12945.

The production level of the cooperatives are expected to rise in the near future when peasants learn to share and cooperate with each other fully and learn to im-

prove the tools of production and use modern machinery.

So as to assure the developments of Somali cooperatives, the cooperative Bureau of the CC of the SRSP is implementing fully the policy of the Party and State of Agricultural development as is written in the Party programme.

It is the responsibility of the cooperative Bureau to establish the General Federation of Somali cooperatives in a month.

From the 7th-10th of January, 1978, the founding of the Cooper-

ative Bureau is expected to take place, of most successful endeavour for the development of the cooperative work in the Somali Democratic Republic.



## The legitimacy of the armed struggle of the people of Western Somalia

### 1. The Parties to the conflict: A brief Historical background:

The typical feature of colonialism — whether overland or overseas — is the creation of a multinational State on a hierarchical basis, the lower groups (in this case the colonized peoples) serving the economic, strategic and military needs of the top — the colonizers. However in the case of overland colonization, economic motive are overshadowed by considerations of security, and temptations nourished by the existence of a power vacuum in contiguous (colonizable) areas. The value of large contiguous areas usually lies in the opportunities they present for defence in depth. Ethiopia's occupation of Western Somalia (Ogaden), as well as Bale, Arusi

and Sidamo satisfied these military and defence needs. Whereas, the annexation of Eritrea, the indispensable access to the sea.

This is not to say that colonization has always been undertaken for the consciously realized purpose of achieving specifically stated objectives. Yet, what matters is the effect, and not the declared motive, for the interested party usually offers a fascinating political ideology as a basis for its imperial expansionism. Spanish colonization may have been carried out for the propagation of Christianity or the French may have regarded their colonial expansion as an instrument of fulfilling their civilizing mission in the world; while the Italians were merely aspiring to a «place sun». Yet all these

ers acted in lines which in the result improved their political position and added to their political power influence and economic and military muscle. King Menelik of Abyssinia, on the other hand, was aiming to create for himself an Empire, comprising almost all of the peoples of North Eastern Africa. Thus, the European powers competing for the colonization of the Horn, in order to dominate over the strategic Southern entrance to the Red Sea, found an ally, and at the same time, an opponent in the monarch of the Abyssinian highlands.

As an ally, who prided himself as being the king of a Christian Island in a sea of pagans, he was more than willing to give them a hand in their endeavours; but he

was also bent upon improving his colonization of contiguous territories, which rendered him a formidable opponent and a competitor anxious to balance the colonial expansion of the other powers.

«If powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them; I do not intend to be an indifferent spectator». Menelik observed in a circular letter to the European powers. (1). He then goes on to claim almost all of the Somali territories, half of Kenya, and a portion of Sudan, including Khartoum; and pledges to annex them all in the future. As regards the Somali territories, he was then aware of the weakness of his traditional opponents to the East, and the relative strength of his position in the aftermath of Abyssinian's adherence to the Brussels act of 18-90, and the consequent supply of arms and ammunition received from the European powers. He thus embarked on an invasion of these territories, and succeeded in the occupation of Harar, a thriving commercial and cultural center which had in the past defied, and heroically repulsed all Abyssinian attempts at encroachment. The fall of Harar marked the Rise of a new Empire and the domination of an up-to-then independent nation; and Menelik, fully aware of this, wrote to the British consular Agent in Aden: «Amir Abdulla (the ruler of Harar) would suffer no christian in his country. He was another Gagne, (2) but by the help of God I fought him, destroyed and hoisted my flag in his capital, and my troops occupied his city. —(3).

Sir Harry Johnston had argued at the time of Menelik's circular letter, that «Abyssinia — for

many reasons connected with its history, its religion, and sturdy assertion of independence, deserves more than any state of Africa to preserve her independence, provided she will abstain from offence, and recognize her true geographical limits». (4) But the European powers were not willing to challenge Abyssinia even though it had embarked now on an expansionist campaign for a variety of reasons. In the first instance, the religious factor was still there, and the connotations of statehood characterized by centralized political organization similar to that of the Europeans differentiated it from all other African entities. Added to this was the growing military strength of Menelik, who now rose to the status of Emperor and was thus aspiring to join the club of imperialist powers bying with each to «propagate the light of christianity and to fulfil their civilizing mission» in Africa through colonial annexation and domination. Hence their readiness to let Abyssinia actively participate in the acquisition of colonial territories; and the consequent stipulation of treaties to that effect with Emperor Menelik. (5) Indeed, it was through these treaties that the European powers sought to legitimize the imperial conquests of Menelik, by, bringing him into the web of the new colonial international law created as a result of the Berlin conference of 1884. The way was therefore cleared for Emperor Menelik's overland colonization, offered him in aid and appeasement by the overseas colonizers who found in him a reliable accomplice and a useful ally in carving up the North-Eastern territories and peoples of Africa into separate spheres of oppression and domination.

The Somali people, on the other

hand, found themselves subjected to separate colonial administration and forced to observe the colonial traced boundary lines which fenced them from each other, in order to obliterate their common cultural identity and destroy their national unity.

Their resistance to this arrangement did not however weaken for a moment, and through a long and protracted struggle they succeeded to overthrow the saltwater colonizers and regain their independence from Italy, Britain and lately France. It was therefore only natural that their efforts should now be directed against the over-land invader who have continued to occupy their territory, and oppress their people feigning to ignore that the era of colonialism was coming to an end in Africa.

## II — The nature of the conflict:

The Liberation movement of the people of western Somalia (Ogaden) under Ethiopian colonization gathered strength at the same time as the movements in the other parts of the truncated Somali nation. Local sections of the Somali Youth League» were active in the Ethiopian-occupied territories as far back as 1945, and untiringly strove for the liberation of their territory from the alien Ethiopian rule by continually petitioning the British provisional military administration of the area. Later, when the U. N. was debating the disposal of former Italian occupied territories, inhabitants of western Somalia submitted a number of petitions to the four-power commission charged in to investigate the wishes and aspirations of the Somali people, and expressed their desire to be united with



other Somalis under a U.N. trusteeship administration. In one of those petitions it was observed that «the Ogaden is not an integral part of Ethiopia. It is a territory which the Ethiopians have conquered by invasion half a century ago, and over which they can exercise authority only through the use of considerable armed forces», (6) thus, the struggle for the liberation of the people of western Somalia is not a new phenomenon; but dates back to the end of the second world war and coincides with the wider struggle of all the Somalis for freedom and independence from colonial occupation and alien domination. The struggle was naturally intensified when two portions of the Somali territory achieved their independence from Britain and Italy and immediately united to form the Somali Republic. The people of western Somalia, fully aware of the fact that overland colonizers can only be dislodged through an armed struggle, started to wage a war of liberation against the occupying Ethiopian authorities.

The imperial Ethiopian government blamed the Somali Republic for the activities of the freedom fighters and accused Somalia of fomenting the war in the occupied Ogaden, so that it could justify its acts of aggression against the young Republic in the eyes of the public opinion in Africa, and throughout the world. The conflict was therefore presented by the Ethiopian Government as a border dispute between the two neighbouring states in order to cloak over the real nature of the conflict that was raging in the Ogaden. This was mainly done in order to marshall the support of the newly

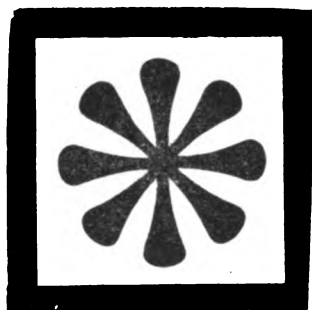
independent African states which, for reasons of political stability were negatively tuned towards border dispute. Hence, the Ethiopian Government, through the propagation in Africa and elsewhere of the false picture of a border dispute attempted to divert the attention of the African states from the root issue underlying the tense situation in the Horn, and to intimidate newly independent African states by asserting that, «It is in the interest of all Africans now to respect the frontiers drawn on the maps, whether they are good or bad, by the former colonizers», since, according to the then Ethiopian Prime Minister, «If we are to redraw the map of Africa on religious, social and linguistic grounds I am afraid, that many states will cease to exist» (7) The Somali government, on the other hand, continued to prospect the true picture of the conflict which pitted the inhabitants of the Ethiopian-occupied territories against the imperial government.

A boundary dispute arises out of an «undefined boundary line, negligent or inexact drafting of boundary agreements and insufficient marking of established boundaries on the ground». (8) It is of course true that the boundaries between the Somali Republic and Ethiopia remain underlimited but this is only secondary to the primary and fundamental question of an Ethiopia-occupied Somali territory. With whom should Somalia enter into a boundary agreement, when the areas adjacent to its borders were only illegally occupied and forcefully annexed by Ethiopia, subjecting their populations to colonial oppression and domination?

The question then arises as to

the proper qualification of the conflict in the area. The OAU has on several occasions under Ethiopian pressure, evaded the substantive issues involved in the Somali-Ethiopian dispute, relegating it to the status of a border dispute. This has been the major reason why the OAU has proved ineffective in mediating between the two countries. Simply stated, the fact is that, as shown above in the introductory remarks, Ethiopia occupied, at the same time as the European colonial powers towards the end of the 19th century a portion of Somali territory, thus participating in the colonial partition of Somalia. It is not therefore the Somali Republic which claims Ethiopian territory, but it is the Somali people under Ethiopian colonization who are striving to regain their independence from Ethiopia. The only thing that Somalia has done in the past and continues to do today is to present the plight of those to the world and naturally to support their quest for the right of self-determination in the same way as it supports all other liberation movements in the third world.

Somalia's staunch support to the freedom fighters in the Ogaden earned her the enmity of Ethiopia, which like any other colonial power, considered the struggle for independence of the peoples of Western Somalia as well as the political and diplomatic support they were getting from such countries as Somalia, a threat to its territorial integrity. This same argument was repeatedly used by the metropolitan colonial powers with respect to their colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. However, it has been as repeatedly rejected in international forums for its



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The question then arises as to

the proper qualification of the conflict in the area. The OAU has on several occasions under Ethiopian pressure, evaded the substantive issues involved in the Somali-Ethiopian dispute, relegating it to the status of a border dispute. This has been the major reason why the OAU has proved ineffective in mediating between the two countries. Simply stated, the fact is that, as shown above in the introductory remarks, Ethiopia occupied, at the same time as the European colonial powers towards the end of the 19th century a portion of Somali territory, thus participating in the colonial partition of Somalia. It is not therefore the Somali Republic which claims Ethiopian territory, but it is the Somali people under Ethiopian colonization who are striving to regain their independence from Ethiopia. The only thing that Somalia has done in the past and continues to do today is to present the plight of those to the world and naturally to support their quest for the right of self-determination in the same way as it supports all other liberation movements in the third world.

Somalia's staunch support to the freedom fighters in the Ogaden earned her the enmity of Ethiopia, which like any other colonial power, considered the struggle for independence of the peoples of Western Somalia as well as the political and diplomatic support they were getting from such countries as Somalia, a threat to its territorial integrity. This same argument was repeatedly used by the metropolitan colonial powers with respect to their colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. However, it has been as repeatedly rejected in international forums for its



blatant incompatibility with the right to self-determination of colonized peoples (infra).

In the practice of the United Nations a war of liberation is defined as a «struggle of the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence» (9). The crucial word is «colonial», which in other resolutions used together with such expression as «alien domination» and «foreign occupation» (10) with which it enjoys an intimate affinity bordering on synonymity. The word has often been associated with the relationship that ties European metropolitan powers to their overseas territories thus indicating the domination of a people of European stock over a third world nation. Hence, identifying colonialism with overseas colonization, perhaps because of the rarity of overland colonialisms in the 20th century. This does however mean that the latter type does not at all exist, for the historical precedents of the Ethiopian Empire as an overland colonizers are represented by the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires in Europe and Asia, which have naturally disintegrated under the pressure of the oppressed peoples striving for the attainment of their rights to self-determination.

Thus if the Ethiopian colonization of the peoples of Eritrea and Western Somalia have not attracted much attention in world forums, this must be attributed to the excessive preoccupation of international community with the overseas colonization of the European powers - the so-called pigmentational self-determination (11).

It can't however be at all doubted that their struggle constitutes a just and legitimate war of liberation.

A war of liberation is essentially constituted of two elements: The parties to the conflict and the aim of the conflict. The parties to the conflict are on the one hand are people, organized through a liberation movement, and on the other hand the constituted government of the territory. The aim of the conflict is attainment of the right to self-determination for which the people fight against the constitute government. The parties to conflict distinguish it from a conflict between states and the objective distinguishes war of liberation from civil war (12). The struggle of the people of Western Somalia enjoys all these characteristics, and can therefore be qualified only as a war of national liberation of the same juridical and political status as all other wars of national liberation recognized by the U.N. and the OAU.

Naturally the Ethiopian authorities continue to deny this status to the Western Somali Liberation Front, for this has been the practice of all colonial powers whenever their domination was challenged by a politically-conscious movement ready to resort to armed struggle in order to throw off the colonial yoke.

### III. Wars of National Liberation and international Law.

During the heyday of colonialism, colonial wars or wars of national liberation were deemed to be an internal conflict. The imperial powers considered their colo-

lonial possessions as part and parcel of their territories. Thus the struggle of subjected peoples trying to overthrow the bondage and regain their freedom was viewed as standing beyond the purview of international law. The Law of nations was applicable only to the relations between a select club of communities known as the «civilized nations», whereas the colonized people being «backward» or «barbarians», were not eligible for the protection of international Law (13).

This practice has persisted up to the conclusion of the Geneva Diplomatic conference on Humanitarian Law of 1949 (14). The first evidence of a change in this attitude is found by the Polish jurist, Manfred Lachs, in the Geneva agreements of 1945 concerning Indochina. According to Lachs «the Geneva agreements recognized that national liberation wars, by which peoples realize their right to self-determination, as just wars are from the standpoint of Law legitimate wars. Recognizing the international legal character of national liberation wars, they coincidentally regarded as internal legal processes of the metropolitan country or the empire, that the hands of the colonial powers are not free to pacify and suppress national liberation movements»

(15). However, the proposition that the ties between an imperial power and its colonies were regulated by domestic Law alone first came under fire immediately after the institution of the United Nations organization. The objections raised by the colonial powers in the basis of paragraph 7 of art. 2 of the charter concerning inter-

ference in the domestic affairs of member states were found to be invalid wherever the principle of self-determination was involved. (16) The key development was therefore the appearance in the charter of the United Nations of the reference to «the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples», subsequently, in Resolution 637 A(VII) of 16 December 1952 the General Assembly recommended, *inter alia*, that «the state members of the United Nations shall uphold the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations.» (17) The newly independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America took up these principles and further develop them into a new higher Law of «anti-colonialism» by resolving, *inter-alia*, in the conference of the non-aligned nations in Cairo (1964) that:

«The process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible. Colonized peoples may legitimately resort to arms to secure the full exercise of their right to self-determination and independence if colonial powers persist in opposing their natural aspirations» (18); and the African Heads of states and Governments meeting in Addis-Absba in May 1963, «convinced that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny» pledged themselves «to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa.» (19) Meanwhile, the United Nations General Assembly had adopted the Declaration on the Granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The declaration, which constituted a watershed in the international norms concerning colonial conflicts, regards the principles of self-determination as a part of the obliga-

tions stemming from the charter, and clearly affirms that all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected». (20) The Declaration resulted in the adoption of numerous resolutions aimed at legitimizing anti-colonial wars.

These resolutions render it legal for third states to assist liberation movement, and extend the protection of international Law to the freedom fighters. (21) The manner in which the security council handled the issue of Indonesia in 1947 should have served as an eyeopener for the colonial powers, and shown them the growing tide of anticolonialism within the international community. Once the security had decided that the Indonesian dispute constituted a danger to international peace and security, the fact that, otherwise the political development of Indonesia was a matter exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Netherlands could be largely ignored.

The new trend gaining ground that disregard of the right of self-determination undermines the basis of friendly relations among nations. Thus the relationship between self-determination and legitimate international concern was spelled out. This relationship is a vital one, because the principle of self-determination and the maintenance of international peace and security are inseparable: People seeking independence from those unwilling to grant it, or in any event unwilling to grant it on

the terms demanded are likely to create an international conflict.

Hence, the resort to arms is now considered legitimate. The assumption is that the national liberation war of a colonized people is nothing but a response an act of aggression committed earlier by the imperialist power. The peoples subjected to foreign occupation and alien domination preserve the right to counter action to an imperialist aggression for the duration of the whole period of annexation of their territory. At any moment the oppressed people, living in the territory annexed by the imperialist state, have the right to launch a national liberation struggle against their colonizers. Such a struggle can only be considered as just and legitimate, since, in the first place, neither aggression nor annexation enjoy the benefits of a statute of limitations and in the second place, international law forbids aggression and consequent annexation puts them outside the Law.

So, where the imperial state bears the duty to give effect the the principle of self-determination the colonized people hold the concurrent right to secure from it prompt and adequate fulfillment of its responsibilities on that score. Thus, when a colonial state fails to behave as prescribed in the matter of promoting the independence of the component parts of its empire, it is deemed to have forth with committed more than just an infraction of the international Law in principio or to have been caught in a breach of promise or an act of bad faith. Instead it is taxed with the violation of the terms of a specific quasi-con-

tractual undertaking toward a specific party. By the same token, the latter may now lawfully resort to appropriate reprisals to redress the wrongs thus inflicted upon it.

To sum it up then, the reluctance of the colonial state to grant the right of self-determination to the component parts of its empire constitutes an offence against international Law and the U.N. charter. Should such a colonial power resist the challenge to its rule by force of arms it is again, by definition, guilty of naked aggression in the legal meaning of that term. In either case, a colonized people is fully entitled with arms in hand to «seek liberation from the yoke of a colonial state evading a peaceful settlement of said question and be the first to start military action against it with the object of destroying its military force stationed in their territory». (22) If the troops of the imperial state decide to fight back, the imperial government is guilty of yet another breach of the Law of nations. For «the position of an imperialistic colonial state which by means of armed force attempts to keep a colony in its sphere of domination is contrary to the Law». (23)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Circular letter addressed to Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia. Public Records Office (London), Foreign Office 1/32 Rodd to Salisbury. No. 15, 4th of May 1898.

2. Reference to Iman Ahmed Ibni Ibrahim Al-Ghazi (1506-43)

nicknamed «Gran» or «Gurey» the the left-handed, who embarked on a conquest which brought three quarters of Abyssinia into the power of his kingdom of Adal (in North-Western-Somalia from (1527-1543). See Trimingham, J.S. «Islam in Ethiopia», 1952. PP. 84-90.

3. Starkie. E. «Arthur Rimbaud in Abyssinia», P. 38.

4. «The Colonization of Africa by Alien Races» P. 277-78.

5. For the text of the treaties, see generally Hertslet, E. «The Map of Africa by Treaty»; also «the Somali Peninsula: A new light on imperial motives» published by the information services of the Somali Government (1962).

6. Cited in «The Portion of Somali Territory Under Ethiopian Colonization», published by the Somali Government (1974).

7. OAU. Mimeographed Text. CIAS/GEN/INF/43 cited in Hoskins, C. «The Ethiopia-Somalia-Kenya dispute 1960-1967» (1969) P. 35.

8. Cukuwarah. A.O. «The Settlement of Boundary Disputes in international Law», P. 89 (1967).

9. See Resolutions 2105 (XX): 2189 (XXI): 2326 (XXII); etc.

10 See Resolutions 2597 (XXIV); 2674 (XXV); 2852 (XXVI); 2923 E (XXVII).

11. Mazrui, A. «Towards Pax Africana»,

12. Ronzitti, N. «Le guerre di Li-

berazionale il (diritto internazionale», P. 50 (1974).

13. Generally, see Wiese, Le droit international appliqué aux guerres civiles, (1898); Sadoul, De la guerre civile en droit des gens (1905);

14. Final Records of the Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 1949. Vol. II Section B. p 10-11.

15. M. Lachs, «The 1954 Agreements on Indochina», translated from Polish by E.I. Brainin and K. A. Radvilovich. (1956) P. 189.

16. Higgins. R. «The Development of International Law through the Political Organs of the United Nations».

17. L. Sohn, «Cases and Materials on United Nations Law», P. 805

18. For the text of the resolution, see the Indian Journal of International Law, 1964, P. 603.

20. OAU Charter. Art. 11 (1-d).

21. UN Resolution 1514 (1960).

22. See UN Resolutions 2105 (XX); 2270 (XXII): 2465 (XXIII); 2597 (XXIX); see also the report of the Secretary-General on the protection of Human Rights in Armed Conflicts UN Doc. A/77-20, par. 161163 A/8052, par. 195-237; A/8370, par 134; A/8781, par 307-317.

23. Sharmanazashvili, G.V. «Colonial War — A Serious Violation of International Law» in Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Pravo, No. 10 (1957), P. 60 cited in Baade. H. (ed), «The Soviet impact on international Law», (1965) p. 82.



## PARTY LIFE

### Speech delivered by Jaalle Siad on the rally for the support of decisions of the central committee of the SRSP



Jaalle Siyad addressing the masses at rally.

Jaallayaal,

A short while ago I had the honour and great pleasure of addressing the nation on the occasion of the 8th Anniversary of our Revolution and had at that time briefly addressed myself to a review of our revolutionary accomplishments as well as to the most immediate challenges, problems and difficulties

facing our nation today. I also had the occasion to inform you of the grave situation which has of late developed in our part of the World as the just liberation armed struggle of the peoples of Western-Somalia, Eritrean and other peoples continued against the Ethiopian Empire in pursuit of their just and national aspirations to freedom, human dignity and independence.

Likewise we made clear in no uncertain terms that the conflict between the forces of liberation and the colonizing power. Ethiopia, is being transformed into an international crisis threatening not only the existence of the nationalist forces struggling for their independence but also the Somali Democratic Republic as well as other neighbouring countries in the region such as the Sudan, Djibouti and Kenya, thus endangering International peace and security. We also made it abundantly clear that such serious development was the direct result of the Intervention of extraneous forces who took the dangerous course of supplying huge armament to Ethiopia beyond the needs of that country; a supply of arms which is unwarranted, excessive and obviously destined to engulf the entire region in a fire of destruction unprecedented in the African continent.

We on that occasion called upon the Soviet Union to put an end to such dangerous course of action and appealed to the international Community to urge it to do so.

Similarly we called upon the Government of Cuba to immediately pull out its troops from the area and to refrain from meddling in the affairs of the Horn of Africa



thus leaving the solution of the problems of our region to the peoples concerned and to the Organisation of African Unity.

I had also traced at that time the historical background of the expansionist Ethiopian Empire and the process of colonization through which Abyssinia acquired the territory of Western Somalia as well as those of other peoples in the Horn of Africa which led to the transformation of the Kingdom of Abyssinia into what has of lately been known as the Ethiopian Empire.

Jaallayaal,

The International Community in general and the peoples and nations in our region in particular, are fully cognizant of the fact that the armed liberation struggle raging in Ethiopia is strictly between the colonial administration of Ethiopia and the colonized peoples and that the intervention of the Soviet Union, Cuba and some other pseudo-socialist countries poses a direct challenge not only to the sovereign states in Africa, in the region and the OAU as an organization but also to the conscience of all peace and freedom loving peoples the world over.

The advancement of the liberation of the Ethiopian Empire can only be viewed as the unfolding process of history. As we stated on many occasions Ethiopia's geographical proximity to the territories it colonizes and its africanity can in no way change the essence and the nature of that empire's colonial possession for colonialism has indeed no colour. History records that all Empires throughout the annals of mankind have been subjected to the natural rule of disin-

tegration thus giving way to the liberation of the colonized peoples and to the restoration of the natural order disrupted by the creation of every such Empire: It follows that the progress of the liberation struggle against the Ethiopian Empire by the peoples of Western Somalia, Eritrea, Abbo, Afar and others is but a manifestation of such natural rule in action and cannot be suppressed by the Soviet Union, Cuba and those others who have opted to engage themselves today in direct combat against the liberation fronts in absolute contravention of all internationally accepted norms among the civilized and peace loving nations and in blatant violation of the principles enshrined in the charters of the United Nations Organisation, the Organisation of African Unity and all other International bodies of a similar nature.

The flimsy and untenable grounds upon which they expediently attempt to justify their wanton acts of aggression against peoples struggling for the just aspiration of their rights to self-determination cannot stand to any logic.

The course of action taken by the USSR in supporting colonialist Ethiopia to perpetuate its colonization of other peoples under pretext of socialist internationalism, comes also in direct contradiction with the basic tenets of the ideology and political philosophy upon which the Soviet Revolution was founded 60 years ago.

Jaallayaal.

As revolutionary Somalia chose to stand for the policy of non-alignment, for the support of all peo-

ples struggling for their national independence, for the noble principles, goals and objectives enshrined in the Charters of the UNO, the OAU, the Arab League and of all other international Organizations, we worked towards full cooperation with all peoples and countries in all spheres of international life for indeed we believe that such outlook reflects properly and objectively the natural interdependence among nations and the necessity now more than ever before, for universal cooperation to overcome the basic enemies of mankind namely: disease, hunger and ignorance. Likewise, we believe that the natural aspirations of man to live in peace prosperity and dignity cannot be attained as long as oppressed and colonised peoples are denied the exercise of their right for self-determination and independence.

As we adopted the Second Charter of the Revolution in October 1971, we did so with the full conscience of finding the ways and means for the realization of such national objectives and of the noble principles, and aspirations cherished not only by our nation but also by the international community at large.

In so doing we defined the basic principles of our foreign policy which is based on the support for the national liberation movement on our opposition to all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism, recognition of the principle of peaceful co-existence between all peoples and on the policy of positive neutrality. As the Charters of the Revolution clearly embody we made known our determination to collaborate with all the peoples of the world in their aspiration to



freedom, social justice and world peace, on the basis of equality and mutual respect of all Nations.

Jaallayaal,

As you all know our country has a long standing relationship with USSR which dates back to the time of our accession to independence in 1960 was neither accidental nor baseless. It was inspired by outstanding respect for one another and mutual cooperation. As such it was found on common principles and on concrete material interests of the two nations.

Our cooperation in the past 18 years has covered many fields including defense, education and training, trade and economic cooperation which proved of great benefit to the Somali people and for which we feel duty bound to express our deep and sincere gratitude to the Soviet people.

At the same time the Somali people appreciated the general stand of the Soviet Union in support of the national liberation movements against colonialism. It was no wonder then that the mutual understanding and cooperation of the two countries gained momentum year after year. This took new dimensions after the 21 October Revolution. The development of these close relations with Soviet Union reached its pinnacle in 11 July 1974 when a Friendship Treaty between the Somali Democratic Republic and the USSR was concluded in Mogadishu.

Jaalayaal,

For sometime now a completely new situation radically affecting these friendly relations has arisen when the Soviet Union embarked upon a new policy of an all-out

support to the colonialist Regime of Ethiopia at the expense of the genuine and legitimate struggle of the liberation movements. Needless to say the Soviet Union like any other nation, is sovereign to adopt any policy it wishes towards other nations. We have no claim, and no right, to prevent the adoption of any such policy. Nevertheless we have the right to protest against such political choice inasmuch as it contravenes the spirit and letter of the Agreement between the two countries and even endangers the security and existence of our country.

In view of these circumstances and in consonance with the friendly relations between the two countries, we tried to explain, to US SR government to the utmost of our ability, the present and historical complexity of the situation in the Horn of Africa.

We patiently explained on various occasions and at various levels including my visit last August to Moscow that the basic cause of the conflict in the Horn of Africa is Ethiopia's colonisation of other peoples. We explained the historical background of the situation: how European colonialism in the late 19th century abetted and aided the expansion of the Abyssinian Kingdom to the presently claimed boundaries of the Ethiopian Empire, how Ethiopia was an active participant with the European powers in the division and colonization of the peoples of the Horn and as such can only be considered a colonial power, and how in such circumstances the colonized peoples of that power cannot be denied their inalienable right to self-determination and independence

The history of colonization and domination had its echo in the continued struggle and resistance of the colonized people. Thus we patiently explained to the Soviet Government, how the struggle of the people under Ethiopian colonial rule for freedom was simultaneous with similar liberation struggles against European colonialism raging in the African continent. The only difference today is that European colonial authorities bowed to the will of the people while the Ethiopian rulers, past and present, have consistently turned against the tide of history.

We also explained the already familiar position of Somalia since its independence on the question, namely, that she is fully committed to the support of the legitimate rights of all the peoples under colonial oppression including these of Western Somalia for self-determination and independence.

The negative and intransigent attitude of the Ethiopian Regime towards decolonization has all along been evident to the Soviet Union as well as the rest of the world.

The colonized peoples expected a change in the attitude of the new regime after the overthrow of the feudal monarch in Ethiopia. But the Dergue Regime opted for a course of action that intensified the brutal oppression so characteristic of the previous regimes. In the face of such brutality and denial of their rights the colonized peoples had no choice but to engage in armed struggle to defend themselves and gain their freedom. The Somali Democratic Republic, under such conditions, was obliged to give its full support to the

legitimate liberation struggles, just as it had always supported all other genuine liberation movements.

The Somali Democratic Republic repeatedly made representations to the Soviet leadership against this course of action which comes in direct contradiction with one of the most fundamental principles of the international community namely the principles of the right of all peoples to self-determination, a principle which as you know constitutes the cornerstone for human justice as well as international stability and security.

Apart from the complete disregard for these basic principles the Soviet Union has taken actions and positions which endanger the interests and security of Somalia.

First of all she has levelled false and baseless accusations against the Somali Democratic Republic describing it as an aggressor.

Secondly, for the past several months she has been conducting an intensive political, diplomatic and propaganda campaign against the Somali Democratic Republic throughout the world; In Africa, the Arab world and in all International organisations of every nature.

Thirdly as explained earlier she is presently pouring massive and highly sophisticated quantities of armaments unprecedented in the region into Ethiopia an act which can only be regarded as a prelude to an all-out invasion against the Somali Democratic Republic.

Fourthly, she has mobilized and sanctioned the commitment of Cu-

ban and other troops on the side of Ethiopia against the liberation struggles in the area and against the Somali Democratic Republic.

Fifth, she has pressurised the socialist countries allied to it to take a position inimical to the interests of SDR, in the present conflict in the Horn of Africa.

And finally she has unilaterally terminated the supply of legitimate defensive arms to the SDR in direct contravention of existing agreements between the two countries.

The implication of all these actions can only be interpreted as constituting a unilateral abrogation of the Friendship Agreement of July 1974 and other agreements between our two countries both in letter and spirit. It is pertinent to quote here some relevant articles of the said agreement.

Article 4 of the Agreement states:

«In order to strengthen the defensive capacity of the Somali Democratic Republic, the two respected sides will continue their military cooperation, in accordance with special agreements. This cooperation will be specifically concerned with the training of Somali military personnel and the supply of military equipment to the Somali Democratic Republic so as to strengthen its defensive capacity».

Article 7 of the said Agreement States as follows:

«Believing in the principles of freedom and equality of all peoples, the two respected sides condemn imperialism and colonialism in all their forms. The

two sides will continue to oppose imperialist and colonial forces, and they will cooperate with other Governments in giving support to the just cause of the peoples struggling for freedom, independence and the peoples progress, based on the principles of equality and the peoples right to self-determination as sanctioned in the United Nations Charter».

And Article 10 of the same Agreement States:-

\* Each respected side declares that it will not enter into military pacts or alliances with other Governments, or undertake actions or measures inimical to the other side \*.

In spite of the above the note of warning made in my October 1977 address to the Nation on the natural consequences of such soviet intervention in the conflict in the Horn of Africa has now begun to assume different dimensions.

We are now fully convinced of the existence of an immediate and imminent joint Soviet Cuban Plan for an all out military aggression from Ethiopia against the Somali Democratic Republic. Plans for this massive military invasion by Ethiopia have been drawn with the help of Soviet experts and is to be executed with the collaboration and support of Cuban troops and other military contingents.

Under these circumstances the Somali Democratic Republic has no alternative but to review her long-standing relationship with the Governments of the USSR and Cuba. Accordingly the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary

Socialist Party in its meeting of 13 November, 1977, took the following decisions.

1. The Friendship Agreement already violated by the Soviet sides is from now onwards null and void; and Somalia abrogates it from its side.

2. Any facilities of a military nature hitherto available for the use of the Soviet Union in the territory and waters of the SDR are withdrawn immediately.

3. All Soviet experts, military and civil, now in the SDR are requested to leave the country within a week.

4. The diplomats and staff of the Soviet Embassy in the SDR and its subsidiaries are reduced to the same number as those in the Somali Embassy in Moscow.

Furthermore, so long as the

Government of Cuba had openly sent its troops to the Horn of Africa to fight for colonialism and oppression to wipe out peoples struggling for freedom and had, in addition, used offensive language against the SDR, it had been decided to sever the diplomatic relations with that Government. All diplomats, staff and experts from Cuba are requested to leave the country within 48 hours.

Jaallayaal,

As I have remarked in my address to the nation on the 21st October 1977, we have every confidence in the determination and courage of our people and their readiness for self-sacrifice. Our people had been steeled in their long resistance to colonial domination, in their struggle for independence and emancipation, and in their struggle for building the foundations of revolutionary Somalia

We have never been overawed by the power and arrogance of the enemy. The ex-colonial European powers had confronted the unbrokeable mettle of our people and had, accordingly, left our shores for good. The powers that today desire to break the will of our people through suppressing the armed struggle of the liberation movements and endangering the Somali Democratic Republic are extremely mistaken. I am fully confident that you will prove to them, and to the rest of the world, that you are a proud and courageous nation that will never submit to arrogance, that will give up everything to defend its dignity, sovereignty and unity. We are neither weak nor friendless. We are not intimidated by modern weapons and political deceit. We shall courageously build our revolution and defend our independence. Victory is ours. Sheer might, arrogance and despotism never made history.

## General Secretary of the SRSP opened a seminar for the new cells of the Somali Democratic Women's Organization (SDWO)

Like the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, Somali Democratic Women's organisation are busy in constructing their headquarters.

On 13th November 1977 there was celebration of new cells joining the Somali Democratic Women's Organisation which took place at the National Theatre. The Seminar was concerning learning of the cons-

titution and programme and the work of the S.D.W.O.

Secretary General of the SRSP, the President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, opened a Seminar for the new cells of the SDWO.

In that occasion the Secretary General delivered a short speech; whereby he pointed out the benefits of that kind of

Seminar and how the revolution had been emphasising.

In his speech the President stressed on the past and present role of the Somali Women.

In finishing his speech Jaalle Siad wished good success for the new cells and in general the Somali Democratic Women's organisation in fulfilling their duty.

# HISTORICAL DECISIONS

On 13th November 1977, the central Committee of the SRSP met in an extra-ordinary session which continued for 10 hours. The meeting which was held at the peoples Hall discussed hot issues concerning the existence and sovereignty of the Somali nation.

The outcome of this important meeting was released through the Radio to the Somali people and to the world in general by the Minister of Information and National Guidance Jaalle ABDIQASIM SALAAD on behalf of the Central Committee of the SRSP. The declaration of the meeting in which the minister delivered through the Radio is as follows:

« As far as the Somali people were diligently striving to ensure their unity and independence for the last 8 years, and achieving economic and social transformations to enhance the life of the Somali people.

« As far as we have tried to cooperate our struggle with o-

ther countries which were supposed to be our friends, but became dangerous to our existence;

So far Somalia tried many times to draw the attention of the world to the danger in the horn of Africa, and especially warned the countries that intervened in the war between the Addis Regime and the peoples struggling for independence. Such countries that supplied armaments and troops that support the colonial Regime in Addis-Ababa wanted to bring the horn of Africa as a whole under the yoke of the Addis-Ababa Regime and their strategic interests;

So far it is evident that an allied attack was rendered on the SDR.

So far the Soviet Union has alone decided to abrogate the aim and content of the Friendship Treaty of the two countries in July 11, 1974 which was signed Mogadishu.

The Central Committee decided the following issues:-

1. That from now on the agreement is abolished and Somalia has abrogated it in like manner.

2. All land and naval facilities belonged to the Soviet Union in Somalia no longer functions.

3. The Soviet military and civilian experts in Somalia should evacuate within seven days.

4. The functionaries and diplomats in the Soviet Embassy in Mogadishu and its branches should be minimized to the extent that they become equal with the number of the Somali Diplomats in the Somali Embassy in Moscow.

So far Cuba has clearly brought its troops to the horn of Africa to support the injustice and colonialism and to suppress peoples struggling for their rights and independence, including diplomatic abuses and insults we decided to break diplomatic relations, and their experts and functionaries to evacuate within 48 hours».

## Activities of the SRSP Committee of the Lower Juba Region

As we promised for our readers before, we shall continue the reports of the SRSP— Committees in the regions and District. These reports are concerned with the activities carried out by these committees since

the establishment of the party.

In this series we are going to deal with the lower Juba region. The party — regional committee of the lower Juba and its districts were built in Sept

1976, the day in which the party committees were built in all regions and districts. The establishment of the party — committees in the regions were confined only on the district level and the cells in industrial and

production units were not included. They were organized later.

The most important activities carried out by the party — organ of the lower Juba region since its establishment are the following:

- 1. Organization of cells and units of the party.
- 2. Building of a regional party centre.
- 3. Establishment of social organizations, as a link between the masses and the party.
- 4. Propagation of the party programme and regulations.
- 5. Enhancement of the political conciousness of the Social organizations and the masses.
- 6. Preparation for the implementation of the party — programme specially those concerned with the increase of the agricultural production.
- 7. Propagation and explanation of the duties and responsibility of the party and its organs or bureau's.

In the following part of the paper, we will describe in depth these seven points and how they were implemented:

- 1. Organization of Party — cells:

In Lower Juba region the Party-cells were organized in ves, zones and villages, the Party-cells and units in the four districts of the region are as the following:

DISTRICT	CELLS		UNITS
Kihmayo:			
Working places	12	working places	12
National Army	3	Schools	1
Organizations	1		
cooperatives	4		
Zones	4		
	—		—
Total	24	Total	13
	—		—
2) Jamama:			
Working places	3	Working places	2
Cooperatives	1	Villages	4
Zones	2		
	—		—
Total	6		6
	—		—
3) Afmado:			
Working places	4	Working places	5
National Army	2	Cooperatives	1
Zones	3	Villages	2
	—		—
Total	9	Total	8
	—		—
4) Barare:			
Working places	2		
Cooperatives	1		
Zones	3		
	—		
Total	5		
	—		

Summary of cells and sub-cells in organized in the districts:

— District Kismayo:	cells 24	Units	13
— « « Jamamae	cells 6	Units	6
— « « Afmado	cells 9	Units	8
— « « Barare	cells 5	Units	
	—		—
ToTtal	44	Total	27
	—		—

## BUILDING OF A REGIONAL PARTY-CENTRE

After the establishment of the party — in the region, special consideration was given how to implement the programme of the party and where to carry it out. The ordinary meeting of the regional party — committee takes place once every three months. In the previous meeting the following agendas were dealt with: the organization and coordination of the activities carried out by the different branches of the party, strategies for economic development, improvement of the health services, and the campaign against black-market etc.

One of the main difficulties encountered by the regional Party organization was how to get enough offices and buildings to carry out party — activities. In order to surpass this difficulty a new centre was built for the party — regional — organization. The cost of the centre is estimated by 500.000 So. Ss.; which will be spent by the region. This will be a centre for the regional party committees, Administration Committee, Party — branches (cells and units) control and auditing committees

### 3. Establishment of Social organization

Like all other regions, social organizations were established on regional and district level and they are carrying their activities properly.

### 4. Propagation of the party — programmes and regulations

Among the most important activity which the party — regional — committees has put

its weight was propagation of the party — programme and education of the masses, so that they will grasp the objective of party.

In order to fulfill this task the party — regional organization has used some of the following ways:

— Written — materials concerning the programme and regulation of the party were distributed to the cells and units.

— Propagations in the mass — orientation centres

— Organized in the mass — orientation meetings of the Social organization as well as in the mass — meetings in the centres.

### 5. Enhancement of the political consciousness of the masses and social organizations:

Since the SRSP is a mass, it was necessary to enhance their political consciousness, so they can understand and carry out their historical tasks in this new era. Departing from this point, the party — regional — committee opened various course and training programmes. For example the following courses were held in Kismayo district since the inception of the party;

A) Training course of a duration of 10 day was opened for the heads of the party — cells. the participants were 76 persons and they were taught the programme of the party.

B) Training course of a duration of 23 days, in which 40% of the party — cells and units have participated, and in which lessons on party — programme were carried out.

T) Training course for the committees of the social organizations and in which their regulations and programmes were dealt with. They were also given some insight about the art of administering the associations and leading the masses.

Parallel to these courses was the regular programme school for the Party — cells, where the new directives and decisions of the party is transmitted for the students.

Courses are not only organized in Kismayo district alone but in all other districts as well for the cells of party, the workers and the cadres of the social organizations.

The Voice of the lower Juba Region:

Another important step undertaken by the party — regional — committee of lower Juba was the revival of newspaper called (the Voice of lower — Juba». This newspaper had been appearing before and it was the first Somali written newspaper. It is also the only regional newspaper since December 1972.

After its closure for sometime the regional party — committee decides to revive it in order to use it as a means of propagating the policy of the party as well as orientating the people with the new ideology. This decision was implemented in April 1977, by the appearance of the first copy of this newspapers.

Increase of the agricultural production:

As we know the lower juba region is among the most tile

and rich parts of the country. It embraces the most important resources such as livestock, agriculture, and fisheries. After considering the decisions of the 3rd. meeting of the central committee of SRSP in Dec. 1 as well as the joint decision of politburo and the council of ministers of the SRSP, the party regional committee has to

implement the policy of productivity increase in the agricultural sector.

The regional — party — committee established various sub-committees with the responsibility to find ways and means of increasing the agricultural production 1980. Although there

are bottlenecks some useful steps were undertaken.

Considering also the policy of developing the economy of the region regional party organization, gave special attention for the encouragement of cooperative organizations. The number of cooperatives established in this region until now are about 49 cooperative.

## REORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY BUREAUS

On 27th October, 1977, the Central Committee of Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) in an extra-ordinary meeting, decided to amalgamate some of the Party Bureaus and form a new one.

Considering both the programme and the Party Statute as well as powers entrusted to the Central Committee during the first Congress for the foundation of the SRSP on July 1st, 1976; and because of the experiences the party gained during the eighteen months of its existence, this new step of reconstructing the bureaus became apparent and inevitable.

This decision reached by the CC was to implement correctly and speed up, in a more functional way, the efficiency of the Party in this crucial period.

The reconstructed and amalgamated Bureaus are as follows

A) The Bureaus for Justice, Education and Sports, Health and Public Welfare, have been amalgamated to form a new Bureau for Social Affairs.

B) The Bureaus for Scientific Research and Political Science

have been amalgamated to form a new Bureau for Political Science and Scientific Research

C) The Bureaus for Defence have been amalgamated to form a new Bureau for Defence and Security.

D) The Bureaus for Commerce and Finance, Agriculture and Industry have been amalgamated to form the new Bureau for Economic Affairs.

II. The remaining other Bureaus will stand and function as before. And the Bureaus for CC and the respective Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen are as follows:

1. The Bureau for the Central Committee Administrative Affairs:

—Chairman Jaalle Meygag Samatar

2. The Bureau for Organisation:

— Chairman: Jaalle Abdulkadir H. Mohamed

3. The Bureau for Social Affairs:

— Chairman: Jaalle Ahmed Mohamoud Farah

Vice-Chairman: Jaalle Mohamed Ali Nur

4. The Bureau for Economic Affairs:

— Chairman: Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud

5. The Bureau for Ideology:

— Chairman: Jaalle Mohamed Aden Sheikh.

— Vice-Chairman: Jaalle Mohamud Abdi Dhunkal

6. The Bureau for Political Science and Scientific Research

— Chairman: Jaalle Abdirahman Aided

Vice-Chairman: Jaalle Mohamed Jama (Haji Kore)

7. The Bureau for Party Finance:

— Chairman: Jaalle Osman Mohamed Jeelle

8. The Bureau for Defence and Security:

— Chairman: Jaalle Hamsa Mohamed Gadawaine

9. The Bureau for Resettled Communities and Crash Programme

— Chairman: Jaalle Omar Saleh Ahmed.

10. The Cooperatives Bureau:  
— Chairman: Jaalle Warsame Abdullahi Ali.

11. The Foreign Affairs Bureau:

— Chairman: Jaalle Saleh Mohamed Ali

— Vice-Chairman: Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah.

12. The State Planning Bureau:

— Chairman: Jaalle Ahmed Habib Ahmed.

13. The Inspection Committee of the Central Committee of the Party:

— Chairman: Jaalle Omar Salad Elmi

Ilahi Mohamed Hassan.

III. The following Committee was entrusted with the responsibility of collecting, organising and supervising the donations contributed to the Western Somali Liberation Front and

Somali Abbo.

1. Jaalle Brig. General Ali Mattan Hashi — Chairman

2. Jaalle Mohamed Ali Warsame — Member

3. Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Dualeh —

IV. Also, in the same meeting the State Planning Committee, Jaalle Mohamed Yusuf Wayrah was named as the Advisor to the President on Economic Matters.

## An international conference on the Middle East situation

Vice Chairman of the Party Bureau for social affairs of the CC of the SRSP and also Chairman of the Somali peace council Dr. Mohamed Ali Nur had returned back home on 18th October, after participating in the international conference on the Middle East situation. The major topic discussed in that conference focused on peace solution to the Middle East problem.

The conference took place at Paris and was opened on October 14-16 and was participated by 250 delegates representing international organisations and different governments.

Thus the resolution of the conference had clear stand that — Vice-Chairman: Jaalle Abdu the question of Palestinians is the key to the Middle East problem. «Peace in the Middle East is impossible unless the people of Palestine are given their

right of self-determination. All the delegates participated in that conference had condemned in-human acts taken by Israel

in the captured Arab territory and to the Palestinians. Also they condemned Israel interference in Southern Lebanon.

## New membership to the SRYU

The SRYU which was established in its first congress on 15th May this year, was busy in completing its establishment. In the 1st Congress the top organs of the Union was established, such as the Central Committee, the executive committee and the investigation and supervision committee.

On 15 September the tasks of selecting the members were started in the Banadir Region so as to ensure the establishment of the lower organs of the Union. On October 3, Seminars were opened in the 14 districts of the Banadi Region for the new members of every district, and the number of the

new members are 3500. This seminar which continued for a period of seven days carried out to teach the new members the statute of the Union, its structure and the programme of the SRSP which is at the same time the programme of SRYU.

Ceremonies commemorating the closing of the closing of the seminar was held in the orientation centres of the 14 districts of the Benadir region.

After that the establishment of the organs of the SRYU started in the centres of work, ministries, Agencies, companies etc. This task was fulfilled by the joint cooperation of the SRYU and the GCSTU.



On 25th October a seminar was opened for the new members of the SRYU in government agencies compaines, which numbered 1500.

The seminar was opened in 6 different places and was divided into 6 parts according to the nature of the tasks and organs. This seminar which continued for 9 days was carried out to learn the responsibility of the establishment of the union, the statute and programme of the union and the way of the working committees and the working youth will cooperate.

On the 6th November 77 a ceremony which concluded these tasks was held in the national theatre.

The Chairman of the mobilization Bureau of the CC of the SRSP Jaalle Abdiqadir Haji Mohamed delivered a speech on the closing ceremony of the seminar. In his speech he congratulated the youth for their new membership and he also congratulated the SRYU for their membership in the world youth unions. This was an important achievement in which the SRYU was victorious for the 2nd time.

Jaalle Abdulkadir emphasised the responsibility shouldered upon the Youth today, reminding the youth once again the directives of the General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Siyad which says that the youth are the reserve and active assistance of the party. For that reason the Chairman of the Bureau called upon the youth to fulfill their role in the society in this historical stage..

Before him a speech composed of reports and reception was delivered by the Chairman of the SRYU member of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Mohamud Warsame, who also gave highlights of the historical movements of the Somali Youth. Jaalle Warsame stressed the role of the union in preserving our nationhood, he also called upon the members the union to execute the statute and programme of the union.

On 24th Nov. 77 the formation of the executive committees of the SRYU in the village level began in the villages of the 14 districts of the Benadir Region. On the second night the executive committees of the districts were named, these were

selected among the members of the union in villages and districts. A seminar which continued for two days was opened concerning the establishment of the union and the implementation of its tasks. All these issues were closed in 28th November. The closing ceremony was held at the headquarter of the SRYU. The seminar was closed in this ceremony by the Chairman of the Inspection committee of the CC of the SRSP Jaalle Omar Salaad Elmi who delivered a costly speech on the occasion. He was welcomed and introduced by Jaalle Mohamed Mohamoud Warsame, the Chairman of the SRYU member of the CC of the SRSP.

## EWGU delegation toured Somalia

A high level delegation of the (EWGU) has recently been touring Eritrean Women's General Union the Somali Democratic Republic from 7-16 October by an official invitation from the Democratic Union of the Somali Women (SWDU). The EWGU delegation has had series of meetings with the Executive committee of SWDU in which issues of common interest were discussed.

The common statement which was released on 15 October revealed that both sides reached full accord on all issues raised during the talks. The statement emphasized the coordination of their struggle against Ethiopian colonial occupation of Eritrea and Western Somalia. Furthermore, the two sisterly unions condemned the barbaric acts of the Ethiopian mi-

litary regime against the people of Eritrea and Western Somalia.

The joint statement added that EWGU and SWDU unreservedly support the Palestinian Women's just struggle against the Zionist occupation of their legitimate homeland. Besides, both Unions expressed their solidarity with all liberation Movements and the international women's democratic Movement against oppression and racism.

The SWDU-EWGU statement concluded that the two parties pledged to work to consolidate the historic and strategic relations which exist between the struggling peoples of Somalia and Eritrea against colonialism, imperialism and Ethiopian occupation.

# PAJETTA VISITS SOMALIA



Jaalle Ismael Ali Abokor with Comrade Gian Carlo Pajetta.

Chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the Italian Communist Party Comrade, Gian Carlo Pajetta visited Somalia on 27th November.

Comrade Pajetta told the newsmen from Ministry of Information that the aim of his visit is to strengthen the relation between the two parties: S.R.S.P. and the Italian Communist Party. Comrade Pajetta talking to the newsmen said, «In order to strengthen our cooperation it is necessary to exchange ideas in this difficult stage».

Commenting on the situation in the Horn of Africa, he said, «His Party believes that the situation in the Horn is an African problem».

He also emphasised that, it is essential to respect, independence, development and African Unity.

The delegation lead by Comrade Pajetta had talks with members of the CC of the S.R.S.P.

In this talks Somalia was represented by assistant Secretary General of the S.R.S.P. and Vice-President of the S.D.R. Brigadier General Ismael Ali Abokor, Chairman of the Bureau of the Central Committee affairs of the S.R.S.P. Jaalle Ibrahim Maygag Samater Chairman of the Ideology Bureau Jaalle Mohamed Adan Sheikh and Chairman of the Bureau for foreign affairs Jaalle Salah Mohamed Ali.

On the other side, the Italian Communist Party was represented by the Chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the Italian Communist Party Comrade Gianni Giadresco, member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party.

The talk ended in friendly atmosphere and it portrayed honesty and whole heartedness between the two parties. In the talks the two sides emphasised the

necessity of strengthening of the cooperation between the two parties, the SRSP and I.C.P. The Visit of the delegation of the Italian Communist Party is realized in frame work of the exchanging the ideas between the two sides. In joint communique released after the talk disclosed that the talk ended in understanding and friendly atmosphere.

During the talks it was discussed the ways of strengthening mutual cooperation and friendship between the two nations, Somalia and Italy.

Comrade Pajetta expressed the deep concern of the Italian communists over the war in the Horn.

He also declared that there is possibility to find peaceful solution to the current problem prevailing in the Horn, on the basis of the principles of rights of nations to self-determination. This does not bring about peace to this region only but also strengthens the vital anti-imperialists fronts in Africa.

Jaalle Ismael Ali Abokor declared that Somalia will not tolerate any open aggression against the Western Somalis and Abbo people. He also affirmed that the unity of the Somali nation is invincible and hence, we are ready to extend moral and material support to the Liberation Fronts for the achievement of their rights.

Jaalle Ismael concluded that the S.D.R. spared no effort to find a peaceful solution to this problem; our objective being the peaceful mutual co-existence of the people in the region.



## WORLD AFFAIRS

# On self-determination and African unity

The struggle to attain African Unity had deep roots in the movement historically referred to as «Pan-Africanism». The struggle to decolonize Africa has always gone hand in hand with the movement towards greater African co-operation and eventually unity. In the course of history dialectical interconnections have been established between Pan-Africanism, self-determination and decolonization. In opposing the decolonisation of the Ethiopian Empire, the Addis Ababa regime stands squarely opposed to the movement for self-determination and unity in the Horn of Africa.

### PAN-AFRICANS AND SELF-DETERMINATION:

The roots of Pan-Africanism go back to the early protest efforts against imperialism, the enslavement and forcible dispersion of African populations by European capitalist slave traders, against the violent partition and implantation of colonial regimes on the African continent. Pan-Africanism looks towards the eventual unification of the African continent and emphasises the need for self-determination and liberation of African peoples.

A Pan-African conference was held in London in 1900 sponsored by a West Indian intellectual. The prominent Black American intel-

lectual, W. E. B. Du Bois sponsored a series of later Pan-African congresses, the first in Paris (1919) then in London and Brussels (1921) in London and Lisbon (1923), in New York (1927) and the fifth in Manchester (1945). The Manchester conference adopted a «Declaration to the colonial peoples», part of which reads: «We affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must fight for these ends by all means at their disposal».

Following the Manchester Conference in 1945, the Pan-African movement merged with the national liberation struggles raging on the African continent. By 1960, the African independence movement resulted in the creation of several independent African states. Between 1958 and 1963, a series of All-African peoples Conference were held in the capitals of newly independent African states.

At the first All African Peoples Conference held in Accra, Ghana, December 5-13th 1958, a resolution on frontiers, boundaries and federation was passed. Among other things it stated:

«Whereas artificial barriers and frontiers drawn by imperialists to

By Hussein M. Aaden

divide African peoples operate to the detriment of Africans and should therefore be abolished or adjusted;

Whereas frontiers which cut across ethnic groups or divide peoples of the same stock are unnatural and are not conducive to peace or stability;

Whereas leaders of neighbouring countries should cooperate towards a permanent solution of such problems which accords with the best interests of the people affected and enhances the prospects of realisation of the ideal of a Pan-African commonwealth of free states.

Be it resolved and it is hereby resolved by the All-African peoples Conference that the conference:

a. Denounces artificial frontiers drawn by imperialist powers to divide the peoples of Africa, particularly those which cut across ethnic groups and divide people of the same stock;

b. Calls for the abolition or adjustment of such frontiers at an early date;

c. Calls upon the independent states of Africa to support permanent solution to this problem founded upon the true wishes of the people».

Thus we see clearly that the movement for African unity took seriously the principle of self-determination. The same resolution contained paragraphs praising the moves towards unification and independence of the Camerouns. A resolution on SomaliLand was passed at the Second All African Peoples Conference held in Tunis. 25-30 January, 1960. The Conference made «a careful survey of the situation in SomaliLand artificially divided» and resolved, among other things to «Hail and support the struggle of the people of SomaliLand for independence and unity in order to give birth to a bigger SomaliLand».

#### THE ETHIOPIAN EMPIRE VS. PAN-AFRICANISM.

Africans everywhere hailed the movement for independence and unification of the Camerouns and Somali. Ethiopia on the other hand, opposed this natural trend in African history. As early as 1946, Emperor Haile Sellassie of Ethiopia addressed a memorandum to the United Nations claiming Eritrea and all of Somalia as part of his Empire. In 1949, he vigorously opposed Somali claims for independence and unity placed before the United Nations Organisation.

In 1950, the United Nations set up a Trust Territory of Italian SomaliLand to be known as Somalia, to become independent in 1960 and it appointed Italy to be the Trustee. The Emperor of Ethiopia vehemently protested to the United Nations for not appointing Ethiopian in place of Italy as Trustee for Somali. The Emperor succeeded in obtaining Eritrea under a feeble UN constitution in 1952. In 1962 he

unilaterally abolished the UN constitution and reduced Eritrea to the status of an Ethiopian colony.

During most of this period, Ethiopia participated in a series of geo-military conferences held by the colonial powers of Africa in order to oppose the democratic trends of the World War II period. In these conferences, even the United States of America attended solely in the capacity of an observer while Ethiopia earned the status of a full participant.

In 1956, with independence for Somalia only four years ahead, the Emperor made a speech in Qabridahare, Western Somalia, once again claiming all Somali territories as part of the Ethiopian Empire. Haile Sellassie made tremendous efforts between 1956-1960 aimed at preventing the independence and unification of former British SomaliLand and the former Italian SomaliLand, a historic event which occurred on July 1st 1960.

By 1960, it was obvious that the wind of change in Africa was blowing towards self-determination and unification. The shrewd Emperor of Ethiopia decided to join the bandwagon in order to influence the movement from within. He decided to adopt Pan-Africanism as a slogan in order to preserve himself and his Empire. His colonialist allies worked behind the scenes in order to help him earn a prominent place within the movement for African unity. Through such interludes, Addis Ababa came to serve as the headquarters of the newly founded Organization of African Unity.

At OAU meetings, Ethiopia often reveals her colonizer mentali-

ty. It is a well known fact that European colonizers have always denied and negated African history. In order to feel justified in opposing Africans European colonizers have also resorted to the myth that Africa had no history prior to the coming of Europeans to our continent. The former Prime Minister of Ethiopia revealed the same mentality when he addressed the inaugural meeting of the OAU in 1963:

«Ethiopia has always existed in history for centuries as an independent state and as a nation for more than 3,000 years. That is a fact. Second fact, the historical frontiers of Ethiopia stretch from the red sea to the Indian Ocean, including all the territory between them. Third fact, there is no record in history either of a Somali state or a Somalia nation».

This was clearly the voice of a colonizer insulting not only Somalia, but all of Africa. Mengistu Haile Marian repeated these very words at the summit held in Libreville, Gabon, in 1977. In waging armed struggles, the people of Western Somalia and Eritrea have decided to impose their historical reality in opposition to the myth of the colonizer.

Ethiopia has spared no efforts to distort the basic principles and spirit behind the OAU. Ethiopia regimes wish to use the OAU solely as a smokescreen to preserve her illgotten gains. Partly, this means ignoring the principle of self-determination and over-emphasising the issue of territorial integrity. Given Ethiopia's nature as a colonial state, the provisions of the OAU resolution on territorial borders could only become valid and

and applicable when as the process of colonisation is completed in the area, i.e. when Ethiopia decolonises Western Somalia and Eritrea.

#### THE EXAMPLE OF NORWAY'S SECESSION FROM SWEDEN.

History offers many examples showing that once the process of decolonization is achieved, the basis for friendly cooperation between the formerly colonized and the former colonizers is guaranteed. A free and united Vietnam is in the right position to establish friendly relations with the united states. The recognition and exercise of the right of all people to self-determination constitutes the cornerstone for human justice, as well as international stability and security. The implementation of this principle which underlies the process of decolonization provides the just basis upon which to establish cooperation, federation and even, in the long run, full unity and integration.

V.I. Lenin illustrates this point forcefully in commenting upon Norway's secession from Sweden in his essay on the Right of Nations to self-determination. Lenin analyses this example in Marxist fashion as follows:

«The geographic, economic and language ties between Norway and Sweden was not a voluntary one...., Norway was ceded to Sweden by the Monarchs during the Napoleonic wars, against the will of the Norwegians, and Sweden had to bring troops into Norway to subdue her (V.I Lenin, selected works, Vol. 1; P. 623).

We see therefore that the «territorial integrity» of this so-called Swedish-Norwegian «Union» was based on Sweden's colonial domination of Norway. Lenin continues:

«Despite the very extensive autonomy which Norway enjoyed (she had her own parliament, etc) There was constant friction between Norway and Sweden for many decades after the Union and the Norwegians strove hard to throw off the Yoke of the Swedish aristocracy. At last, in August 1905, they succeeded: the Norwegian parliament resolved that the Swedish king was no longer king of Norway, and in the referendum held later among the Norwegian people, the overwhelming majority (about 200,000 as against a few hundred) voted for complete separation from Sweden. After short period of indecision, the Swedes resigned themselves to the fact of secession». (Ibid).

Here is a concrete example of a colonized people struggling for self-determination resulting in the recognition of their right by the colonizer. From this historical example, Lenin concluded as follows:

«This example shows us on what grounds cases of the secession of nations are practicable, actually occur, under modern economic and political relationships, and the from secession sometimes under conditions of political freedom and democracy.

The close alliance between the Norwegian and Swedish Workers, their complete fraternal class solidarity, gained from the Swedish

worker's recognition of the right of the Norwegians to secede. This convinced the Norwegian workers that the Swedish workers were not infected with Swedish nationalism, and that they placed fraternity with the Norwegian proletarians above the privileges of the Swedish bourgeoisie and aristocracy». P. 623 and 625).

Let us also recall that it was Lenin who granted Finland the right to secede from the Russian Empire.

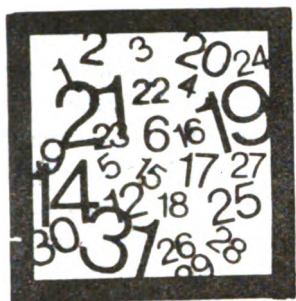
Let us pause to reflect on the question of Eritrea and Western Somalia in the light of the above remarks:

First of all, European powers ceded Western Somalia to Ethiopia through secret treaties in 1897. They provided Ethiopian Emperors with huge quantities of arms with which to subdue the peoples ceded to them. In 1948, it took British troops to restore most of Western Somalia under Ethiopian domination. The rest was ceded back to her in 1954 in the face of bitter resistance on the part of the Somali people. Eritrea was ceded to Ethiopia in 1952.

Secondly, the geographic, economic and language ties between Western Somalia, Eritrea and their Ethiopian colonizers are not as intimate as those between Norway and Sweden;

Thirdly, Western Somalia enjoyed no autonomy what soever under Ethiopian domination. The feeble federal constitution proposed for Eritrea by the UN was scrapped as soon as Haile Selassie laid his hands on Eritrea. Cont. on Page 48





## MONTHLY BULLETIN

# JAALLE SIAD VISITS A NUMBER OF ARAB COUNTRIES



The Secretary General of the SRSP and President of the Somali Democratic Republic Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare returned to Mogadishu on the 3rd of December after the successful completion of a week-long visit to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan and the United Arab Emirates.

The President's delegation included the Minister of Finance Jaalle Abdirahman Nur Hersi, Minister of Justice and Religious Affairs Jaalle Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein. During his visits, the

president discussed with the leaders of these on matters of interest to the Arabs and in particular the Middle East and the Horn of Africa situations.

Jaalle Siad also discussed with the leaders on ways of further strengthening relations between the Somali Democratic Republic and their respective countries.

During the one-week tour Jaalle Siad met with the King

of Saudi Arabia Ibn Khalid Bin Abdulaziz in Jeddah, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt in Cairo, President Jafar Numeiri of Sudan in Khartoum and United Arab Emirates leader Sheikh Zayid Bin Sultan Al-nahyan in Abu Dabey and other Emirates leaders.

Among the outstanding issues which centred in their talks included, the current political situation in the Middle-East, the Horn of Africa and World Affairs in general, and the strengthening of co-operation in the Arab World. The talks ended in success and understanding.

In an exclusive interview with the Emirates New Agency — President Siad said the present situation in the Arab World needed the continuous consultations of the Region's leaders. President Siad added that the situation in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea security made it very necessary for the constant consultations with Arab brothers.

# JAALLE SIYAAD'S PRESS CONFERENCE



On the evening of November 24th, 1977, Mohamed siyad Secretary-General of the SRSP and President of Somali Democratic Republic, held an important press conference at the Peoples Hall, Mogadishu, in order to brief International Journalist, Newsmen and Radio Personal and others on the situation in the horn of Africa

Jaalle Siyaad explained to journalists the historical background of the problems within Ethiopia, he pointed out that Ethiopia had participated in the European scramble for Africa. The peoples colonized under the Ethiopian Empire have been consistently waging just struggles for national self-determination and independence. The struggles of these peoples the Western Somali, Abbo, Afars and Eritreans, have been intensified - recently as a result of an obstinate unwillingness to concede decolonize the Ethiopian Empire peacefully,

Where by the Addis regime has sought internationalize the problems within Ethiopia, coupled with the USSR'S continued to give it huge quantities of sophisticated arms while cuba is supplying military personel. These foreign interference is posing a great threat not only to the liberation movements but to the peace and security of the neighbouring states such as the SDR, and to the international routes of this region. The Somalia Democratic Republic has patiently appealed to USSR and cuba to desist from their unprecedented interference, however to no avail. The president explained the background behind the recent decision of the Somali Democratic Republic to abrogate the Soviet-Somali Friendship Treaty and to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba.

In response to one of the questions posed, Jaalle Siad emphasised that Somali rupture

with the USSR and Cuba does not mean that Somalja has dropped socialism. Socialism is not a property of any individual or nation. Somalia adopted socialism out of its own free will. socialism in Somalia was not an imposition of foreigners.

Somali history obliged on us as a necessity to choose socialism as the path for rapid development. The Somali people have made impressive progress from the experience of socialist development during the past (8) years.

Numerous objective observers have confirmed that the the situation of Somalia after the Revolution is vastly superior to the situation before the 21st October 1969, Revolution accordingly, Somalia will continue to persue the socialist path geared toward development.

However poor, the Somali



people have justly, and impressively manifested their love for national dignity and sovereignty. On the other hand they have every right to support their brothers struggling against colonialism and for self-determination and unity.

Somalia will continue to play an active role in the anti-imperialist movement as a member of the non-aligned world — Somalia, of course has an important role to play within A-

frica and the Arab world, President Siad reaffirmed.

In response to other questions, Jaalle Siyaad pointed out:

a) that the number of Cuban soldiers in Ethiopia is much greater than the 400-500 cited in the Western press.

b) That the relations between the Somali Democratic Republic, Saudi-Arabia and Iran have long historical roots

mainly as the result of the fact that the three countries share the same Islamic culture.

c) That the Somali Democratic Republic has always sought and will continue to strive for good neighbourly relations with Kenya, even though and hopes that the Kenyan leaders will not fall prey to the malicious propaganda unleashed by the AddisAbaba regime in order to create conflict between Kenya and Somalia.

## INFORMATION OFFICIAL COMMENTS

The involvement of foreign troops in an attempt to rescue the inevitable and timely collapse of the Addis-Ababa colonialism will be delineated in history with the description of a shameless and absolutely unprincipled undertaking.

The engagement of foreign troops is an outright offence against international codes a violations of fundamental human rights to render all out support to a colonial and an oppressive war. It is a universally recognized phenomena for illegitimate, unstable and inconsistent regimes to resort to the employment of foreign troops and mercenaries, out of desperation to fight against genuine Revolutionaries and freedom fighters. History is rampant with scientific lessons regarding the disturbances and destructions caused by foreign interventions and the ultimate disgrace and embarrassment of such acts devoid of any cohe-

rent pattern; unless there are those who are pretending to refute the naked realities and revelations of such phenomena in the history of mankind in the case of interfering in to the internal affairs of other states.

A spokesman for the ministry of information and national guidance declared in response to a statement made by the Cuban foreign ministry, denying the presence of any Cuban troops in Ethiopia as «baseless, surprising and aimed at deceiving international public opinion». The spokesman said that the statement comes in fact, in direct contradiction with earlier statements by the Cuban Government in which they recognized the presence of Cuban personnel and so-called technicians already operating in the area. «The Cuban foreign ministry's statement as well as the previous statement made by Cuban leaders made no sec-

ret of the fact that Cuba is prepared to assist the Ethiopian Empire militarily», the spokesman said, and added that, «there is no doubt that there are thousands of Cuban forces bolstering the Abyssinian colonial army fighting against the WSLF, SALF, the Eritrean liberation movement and other progressive forces from and with Abyssinia».

The president of the SDR Jaalle Siad, declared on 21st October, that it is now beyond any doubt that the conflict between the forces of liberation and the colonizing power is being transformed into an international crisis threatening not only the S.D.R., but the whole region. A war conflagration in the region in which outside forces are actively engaged would have dire consequences for the peace in the area, the peace of the middle east and Africa, and as a result of the World at large. The president disclo-



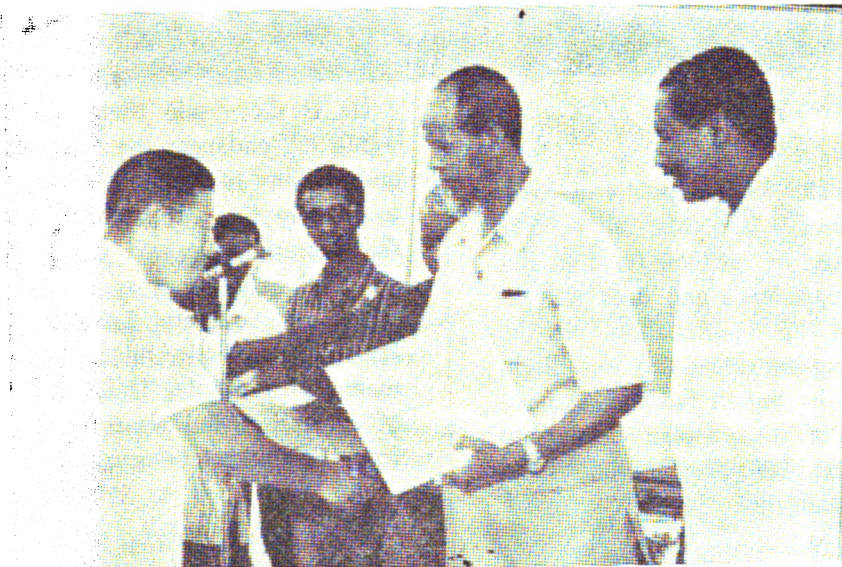
sed the involvement and siding of Cuban troops with the Addis Ababa colonialism.

The spokesman further pointed out that the WSLF and SALF have on different occasions warned Cuba to desist from its inimical military and political acts against them and condemned Cuban activities and interference in the liberation struggle. The objectives of the Cuban forces who are fighting side by side with the colonial Abyssinian troops is to suppress

the national movements which are engaged in a legitimate struggle for independence and self-determination in a bid to perpetuate the colonial situation in the area. The spokesman stressed that it is a matter of public record well-known to the international community that the S.D.R., has always supported all National liberation movements such as those Palestine, Zimbabwe, South Africa and in other African regions as well as those in South East Asia».

The spokesman for the ministry of Information and National guidance concluded his statement by saying that in view of the development of this grave situation in the horn of Africa, the SDR once again calls upon the Government of Cuba to withdraw its troops and military personnel from the Ethiopian Empire and to desist henceforth from any all political and military interferences in the affairs of the Horn of Africa.

## 14th INTERNATIONAL FAIR



Jaalle Kulmiye awarding honour certificates on the closing of the 14th International Fair..

The 14th International Fair was opened in Mogadishu on the 20th of October and continued for a fortnight ending on 4th of November this year.

Among the participant countries are: the United States of America, China, Japan, Romania, Italy, Pakistan, Sudan and Soviet Union. Various Minis-

tries and Agencies of the SDR and other foreign firms also participated in the fair.

The Vice-President of Somalia Jaalle Major-General Hussein Kulmie Afrah officially also attended the closing ceremony. As previous years the 14th International fair coincided with the celebration in the

SDR for the 8th Anniversary of the 21st October 1969 Revolution.

In a speech on the occasion, the Vice-President thanked for the Ministry of Commerce and the chamber of commerce, Industry and Agriculture for their efforts in making it possible the fair to be held in Mogadishu. He also praised the participant countries for displaying products of their countries in the fair to reflect the development of their technology, Industry and Agriculture.

«It is also essential to mention here the major role of the Somali Democratic Republic's Ministries, Agencies and regions in the fair», the Vice-President declared.

Jaalle Kulmie distributed Certificates of Honour to the participants of the 14th International Fair.

# Syrian delegation visits SDR



Jaalle Siyad welcoming Syrian delegation at his office.

The Syrian delegation headed by Mr. Shail Sukaria, a member of the Syrian Ba'ath Party Central Committee wound up an official visit in Somalia on 25th of last month.

The delegation had arrived in the Somali Democratic Republic on the 19th of October and had participated in the 8th Anniversary celebrations of the Somali Revolution of 21st October 1969.

During its stay here, the delegation had talks with Somali officials on matters pertaining to bilateral relations and other fields of interest and had the opportunity to visit areas in the Central Shabeli region.

«The Arab Republic of Syria staunchly supports all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence and does not accept the continuation of the Mengistu rule», this was disclosed by Suhail Sukaria, a member of the Syrian leadership shortly before departing from Mogadishu.

Mr. Sukaria told reporters of the Ministry of information that he did not think the SDR wants to capture any Ethiopian territory but it was the peoples under the Addis Colonialism who were waging a war of liberation to regain their freedom and independence.

The Syrian delegation leader declared that the struggle of the

WSLF and SALF was an Arab struggle for freedom and they should be given their inalienable rights to self-determination.

Asked on the Geneva conference of the Middle East countries, Mr. Sukaria said that the Geneva conference cannot obtain a peaceful solution for the Middle East problem and declared that his country will not participate in the conference unless the people of Palestine were legally represented.

He further said that Israel wants to endanger the peace and stability of Lebanon in order to recreate the earlier chaos in that country. He said that Israel had carried out aggressive attacks on Southern Lebanese. He called on all Arab nations to resolutely counter Israel wars of aggression and clear it off from Lebanese territory.

Mr. Sukaria said that his talks with Somali officials were crowned with success and added, that Somalia and Syria are bound together by mutual interests as both are members of the Arab league and other world organizations.

He expressed his personal appreciation of the warm welcome accorded to his delegation during their stay in Somalia



# SPORTS-ROUND-UP



The opening ceremony of the Stadium.

The inauguration ceremony of the «Mogadishu Stadium» Mid — November 1977 was attended by the Secretary General of the SRSP and President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Said Barre. The Stadium was jointly constructed by the government of the SDR and the Peoples Republic of China. The Ceremony was also attended by the visiting Chinese delegation led by the vice-Minister of cultural and sports commission, comrade Yu-Pu Hsuch, members of the Central Committee, officials of International sports Organisations and government officials.

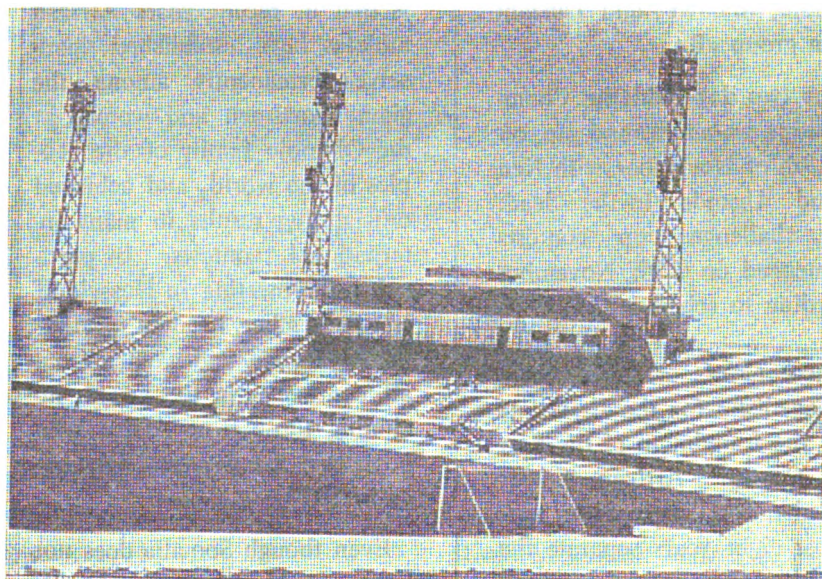
In a speech on the occasion, the Minister of Sports Jaalle, Colonel Farah Wais Dule Spoke at length of the deep friendly relations between the two countries which based on fraternity

and mutual co-operation. The Minister said that China under the leadership of chairman Huo Kuo Keng and following the teachings of the great leader chairman Mao Tse Tung can set an

example for selfiance and development to the third-world countries in particular and the world at large. Jaalle Farah also pointed out the long struggle for national unity and independence from which, he said, she had gained experience which imbued it with an anti-colonialist stand and solidarity with the progressive people as well as the support of all just causes.

The Chinese delegation leader, Comrade Yu-Pu-Hsuch, who also delivered a speech on the ceremony, admired the friendly sentiments of the Somali people towards the Chinese people. He said that the stadium is symbol of friendship between the peoples of China and Somalia adding that the Chinese people see themselves duty bound to render such assistance.

Comrade Yu-Pu-Hsuch said the Chinese people express their



Mogadishu International Stadium..

appreciation of and support to the resolute action taken by the Somali government and people in safeguarding their sovereignty.

The modern Mogadishu Stadium occupies a total area of about 210,000 sq. meters with a building floor space of 23,750 sq. meters and a seating capacity of 30,000 spectators.

The inauguration of the Mogadishu Stadium coincided with the presence of Lioning provincial football team of China in Somalia. The Chinese team played a friendly match with the Somali national team and won 3:0, and lost another match by 1:3 on November 20 with the Somali youth team.

The SDR is extremely pleased at hosting the East and Central African Athletics Championships and the East and Central African challenge cup contest. The Challenge Cup is divided into two preliminary groups; Somalia, Uganda, Kenya and Zanzibar are group «A», while Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania are in group «B».

The two day Athletics Championships events wound up on the 19th of November with Kenya and Uganda in the lead. The challenge cup contests commenced on 25th November according to schedule.

These events are being held in Mogadishu for the first time since the foundation of the East and Central African Sports Confederation some years ago. Almost eight years separate the first from the second; and all these years African Sports kept

matching ahead from regional events to international events.

The Chairman of the East and Central African Football Confederation (ECAFC), Mr. G. H. Mutovu, in an interview in the soccer challenge. Answering a question, Mr. Mutovu disclosed that all seven member countries of the confederation will participate in the soccer challenge. Answering a question, Mr. Mutovu said the extra-ordinary meeting in October to move the competition to Malawi was held because of unfounded and misguided information that Somalia was at war with Ethiopia and hence adequate security could not be guaranteed for the sportsmen in Mogadishu. «This baseless report was not perhaps the only reason why some countries were worried over the security of the sportsmen but we shall demonstrate that the soccer challenge officially in Mogadishu as was already decided in Zanzibar last year» Mr. Mutovu concluded.

What is especially important is that in recent years African athletes have established themselves permanently among the giant sportsmen and women in the Olympic family of the peoples of the world, and achieved outstanding results in many international contests. In particular, the meeting in Dusseldorf last September, brought together the sportsmen and women from all continents in the world, including those from Africa who boycotted the Montreal Olympics in 1976.

Even though Somalia does not have world renown athletes, nevertheless since the epoch of

the Somali Revolution of 21st October 1969, the government inspired by the dynamic leadership of president Siad has already taken a great step forward in such a short time. The games are organized by govern-

ment officials mainly after the formation of the ministry of sports with the objective of strengthening friendship and cooperation and similarly to develop and exploit with resounding success both the individual and collective potentialities in sports and above all the attainment of international standards in sports for the Somali youth.

In Africa, Sports proved to be a sphere for the application of national efforts where the results come first. The increasing mastery of the African sportsmen enabled to compete in the International Arena against representatives of the biggest sports power of the world. Some new trends in African sports are now noticeable; a regular exchange of sport delegations taking place between separate countries on basis of special agreement such as the East and Central African Challenge senior or Cup Championships. Participation in international competition is no longer option of nearly national sports; club teams and even school out-first take part in Inter-African contest. Different sport events that were not much popular in past are spreading over wider.

The participation of the sportsmen and women from the East and Central African Countries is evidence that Africa is ripe in bringing a revolutionary

success in sports, and enhance of unity in Africa. It goes without saying that besides being a useful aspect of developing the sportsmens body, sound health, self-discipline and perseverance, sports always mean to create harmony, understand-

ing and cooperation among nations. With this in mind, the success of sportsmen will be applauded as those of the African continent in a brotherly spirit of good sportsmanship.

The Somali football and athletics officials wish this years

and anticipate; Somalia will demonstrate an unprecedented high standard of performance of after an exhaustive and lengthy preparations to host and participate in the competitions being held in Mogadishu.

## Broadcasting organizations of non-aligned Countries meet in Yugoslavia

Delegations from about 70 countries attended the first conference of the broadcasting organizations of non-aligned countries held in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, from October 27 to 30 this year.

A congratulatory letter from Yugoslavia's President Tito was read at the opening ceremony. It stated that the conference was the concrete implementation of the resolution of the first non-aligned conference in Colombo on better cooperation in the exchange of news among the non-aligned countries. The non-aligned countries and other developing countries particularly those which have just won liberation, are placed in an unequal position because of limited economic resources, poor technology and lack of cadres in specialized fields. Therefore mutual help and cooperation will make broadcasting and television a strong weapon in the hands of the people in these countries in their struggle for liberation and international relations on an equal footing, thereby breaking the monopoly of news circulation the letter pointed out.

In an atmosphere of unity and full understanding, the conference discussed and adopted a declaration, an action programme for cooperation and a resolution on the coordination of cooperation among the broadcasting organisations of non-aligned countries. The conference decided to choose Sierra Leone as the venue of the next conference and to set up a coordination committee comprising Asian, African, Latin American and European countries.

The declaration points out that broadcasting and television

of the non-aligned countries should play a still greater role in their unreserved support for the non-aligned countries in the struggle for people's liberation against colonialism, and racism and in their support of the Palestinian Arab people's struggle under the leadership of the Palestine liberation organization (PLO).

The action programme emphasizes that in developing and strengthening its broadcasting organizations of the most under-developed non-aligned countries and the liberation movements.

## Day of solidarity with Namibia

Highlights from the October 27th meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia. A meeting held to mark the day of Solidarity with the people of Namibia and their recognized liberation movement, the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO).

Eleven years ago, on October 27th, 1966, the U.N. General Assembly terminated South

Africa's old league of Nations mandate for South West Africa later renamed Namibia - and decided that responsibility for the territory should be assumed by the world Organization. In the eleven years that followed the 1966 General Assembly decision, numerous U.N. resolutions have dealt with steps needed to make Namibia's independence a reality. South Africa, however, has refused to



comply with U.N. decisions on Namibia and continues to occupy the territory illegally.

On October 27th of this year the responsible body for the territory — the U.N.'s Council meeting to observe the «Day of Solidarity» with the people of Namibia and their Recognized liberation movement, SWAPO the South West Africa Peoples Organization.

Secretary — General Kurt Waldheim told the anniversary meeting that South Africa's attitude constituted an unparalleled challenge to the authority of the United Nations, and he restated the world Organization position on the question of Namibia which based on free elections on the basis of one man one vote; all Namibian political prisoners must be released; the application in Namibian political prisoners must be released; the application in Namibia of all racially discriminatory and politically oppressive laws and practices must be abolished; and all Namibians in exile for political reasons must be accorded full facilities to return to their country without risk of arrest. The Secretary General Kurt Waldheim stated that: there can be no doubt that unless the aspirations of the people of Namibia are fully respected and unless we can create without further delay the conditions necessary for the achievement of those aspirations

a most dangerous situation will develop with adverse consequences which could well extend beyond the borders of the territory.

Among U.N. resolutions on the question of Namibia is Security Council Resolution 385 adopted unanimously on January 1st, 1976. In it, the Security Council, among other things, declared that the policy of Bantustans and homelands in Namibia should be terminated, called for free elections under U.N. supervision and control stated, that the South African administration should be withdrawn from the territory, and outlined the steps that should be taken, with U.N. assistance, before people.

For the Special Committee of 24 on decolonization, Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania, Chairman of the Committee, appealed to nations that still maintain relations with South Africa to sever them: «Let us take this opportunity once again to address an urgent and earnest appeal to those states which still continue to maintain political and other links with the South African regime to join in the concerted effort of the overwhelming majority of this Organization to bring pressure to bear upon the regime by discontinuing all collaboration with that regime in order to ensure its compliance with the decisions of the U.N. until the attainment by the people of Namibia of the objectives of

the charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Decolonization».

The Assistant Secretary - General of the O.A.U. Peter Onu spoke of the struggle of the Namibian people for independence:

«....This is a struggle which has been prolonged because of Vorster's defiance of the UN and because of the importance of the world body. Let us all resolve that this will be the last occasion for the commemoration of Namibian Solidarity Day. We would like to see the U.N. gather next year to celebrate the independence of Namibia instead

«The People ...the masses of these countries demand power. And in each instance Vorster has neither the political will, the Prerequisite psychological constitution, nor the full realization of the dictates of history. He will not surrender power voluntarily. Thus the power must be seized by force, with the acceptance of all that this entails. We want peace in Namibia in the face of all the injustice in our land. SWAPO is determined to end this injustice by intensifying the struggle at all fronts, in particular, at the military front. We are confident the international Community will stand by us in this commitment».



## CULTURE AND ART

# IMPERIALISM AND CULTURE

By Rashid Sh. Abdullahi

The retardation caused by world imperialism to the culture of the nations who suffered under colonialist subjugation was discussed in a seminar held in Algiers, the Capital City of Algeria — from 11 to 15 October this year. The Seminar was organised by the International League for the Defence of Peoples' rights for freedom and independence and the Algerian Government has hosted it.

During the course of the Seminar, which was held at the People's Hall in the Sanobar Club, study-lectures on how imperialists had impeded various national cultures were discussed.

Imperialism has imposed innumerable problems and backwardness on the nations of the world. On many occasions, the socio-economic backwardness and the political disarray inherited from imperialism had been discussed. Hence imperialism is a political reality, which is based on socio-economic structure whose oppressive and suppressive essence have been felt not only at national levels but also throughout the world.

People have suffered the most servile conditions in the countries where capitalism is transformed into imperialism, and where exploitation has taken deeper roots.

There, the individuals were deprived of their rights to live a decent life as they were alienated from the fruits-products of their muscles and minds. Worse still, these products were manipulated so wrongly that it had served a threat to the well-being of mankind. A glaring example of this, is the colossal amount of materials and manpower spent to produce armaments and to maintain military alliances, at a time when many millions of families are starving on our planet.

In other words, we must make note of the annual human death rate as a result of starvation. Besides, it is horrifying to see the enormous quantities of food and other products being wasted into the sea to avoid inflation while the producers lack proper dwellings and decent dresses.

Further more, the process of decision-making is concentrated into the hands of the minority monopolistic group - that owns the multi-national companies; the majority of the people are deprived of their say in the socio-political life of the society.

International imperialism had imposed more calamities and wretched conditions on the nations who had been in retard to develop capitalism fully. They were con-

quered by brute force; they were denied to decide their destiny; both the manpower and the material resources of their countries were misused and manipulated to their detriments; their socio-economic progress was impeded deliberately; even their social structures were deformed in such a way that it retained the outmoded primitive structures: i.e. tribalism and feudalism which serve as a weapon against liberation movements and progressive tendencies.

All these above mentioned problems were, on many occasions, pinpointed by the socialist world and by the democratic forces in seminars and other fora. But, the harmful effects which imperialism has had on the culture of the colonized nations have so far received a negligible attention in earlier discussions. To remedy this situation, it was the main issue the Seminar has discussed at Algiers.

Numbering about two hundred people, the participants represented practically all continents: Europe, North America, Latin America, Africa and Asia. The Chairman of the Seminar, Senator Lelio Basso from Italy was the organizer of the International League for the Defence of Peoples' rights for freedom and independence. Also the participants of the seminar in-

cluded some distinguished personalities, such as comrade Mohamed Aden Sheikh, Chairman of the Bureau for Ideology and member of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP), Minister of Education (Gini Bissau), and the Minister for the Algerian Presidency, Sayid Dalib Ibrahim.

Various aspects of the cultures of the nations oppressed by imperialism had been analysed in this seminar. One of these topics was the colonial educational systems, and the extent to which these educational systems had detached the colonized nations from their cultures. Another topic discussed was the influence which the imperialist mass-media bore on the colonized peoples in the process of degrading the traditional customs and national cultures these people's aspirations for their freedom and for their existence as nations. The problems that foreign languages had created for colonial countries, were also discussed in the Seminar. The negative impacts which the imperialist influence has on these nations as a result of the languages have also been highlighted. The aim of the imperialists was to erase the spirit of nationalism as well as the love for their cultural identity from the hearts of the colonial peoples.

As soon as the imperialists achieve this goal they can easily manipulate these nations and can use them to serve colonial objectives, once they have lost their national self-identity, or their traditional cultures. Lelio Basso saw this reality, when he said: «destroying or deforming the culture, implies separating the individual from his

social environment, and the integration of the two is an inevitable factor for the survival of man.» The crucial issue lies in the destruction of the cultural life of the peoples by uprooting man his environment. This gives birth to an individual with a low scale of values towards his soil, his society and his culture - an individual who is ignorant of the history of his society. Even if he has glimpses of his history through the medium of the colonial educational system, it was presented to him as a savage type of culture. He was indoctrinated to love and value the history of Europe and the Western countries; he was taught that the West is the source of human civilization and the light of knowledge.

ge. This is how the colonial subject was hypnotized to reject his culture, land and society, yearning for Europe which has, thus, transformed him into a tool that easily serves imperialism.

In all the colonized countries such individuals serve imperialists interests to the detriment of the wish of their countries and peoples; they help imperialism to consolidate its grip over nations and to perpetuate neo-colonialism; they are alienated from their country and society; they are those who are indifferent to the problems and aspirations of their nations assimilating the life of Europe; they are those who defend imperialist interests by frustrating the efforts of the masses in the true struggle for economic independence, social progress and democracy rule.

Imperialism does not only rely

on these elements to implement its designs, but it also employs modern technology and its large-scale industries whose products are flooded in the markets of the third world. In this way, imperialism spoils the consumer the third world by infusing them with such bad habits and manners as «wanting without working». These elements are tempted to overlook the reality prevailing in their society, which needs the girding up their loins for progress. Also imperialism employs the mass-media to mislead the people from the right path. This mass-media claims to be objective in the search for truth. The fact is that it paints the lie as truth, and distorts the truth, thus creating terror in the world. The aim behind such leading is to confuse the people so that they seek to take mental refuge in the folds imperialism.

All these means are employed by the imperialists in order to retard the progress of the nationalist regimes in developing countries. By these manipulations, imperialists shatter the unity of the nationalist forces in order to win followers to help overthrow the progressive government.

This topic and other similar issues were being discussed in the seminar for four days. One of the issues that won the unanimity of the participants was the revival of traditional cultures which contribute to the socio-economic development of these emerging nations. Also the need for a script to write the vernacular languages was raised at the seminar, but many countries had rejected this idea because of the multiplicity of languages in some

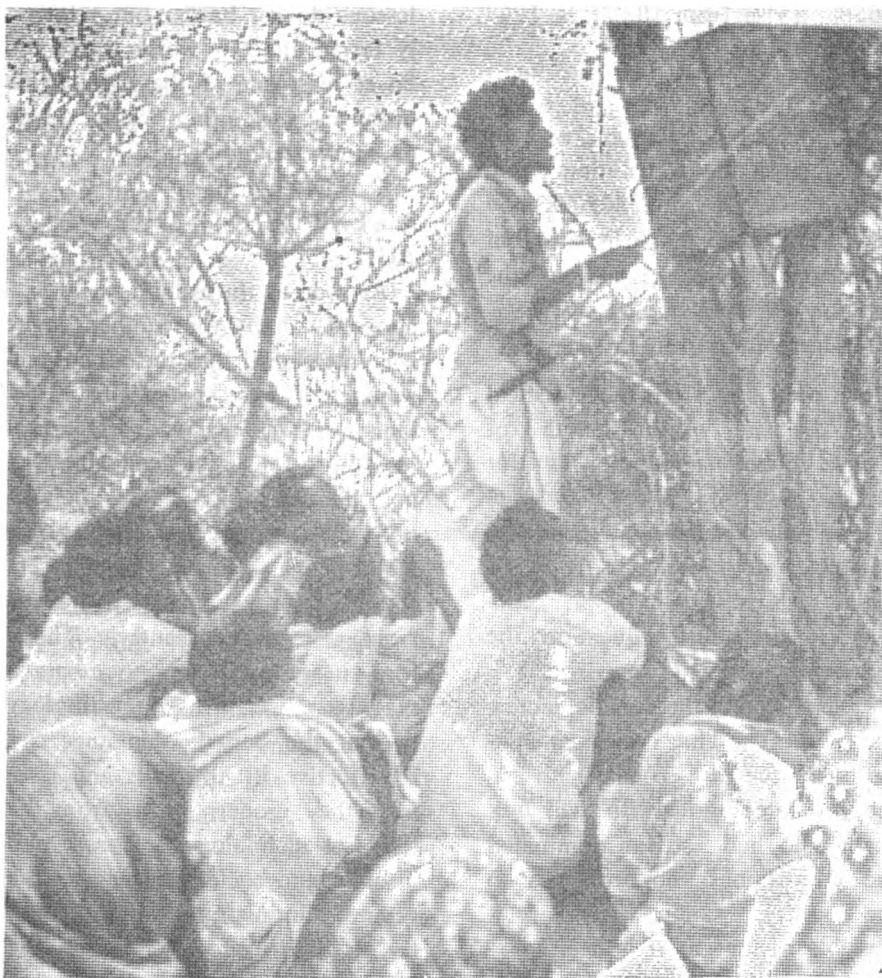
countries where different tribes speak different languages. In such cases, it was realized that choosing a standard language for these countries may create crises which could lead to chaos and national disintegration. These situations compelled some of the African countries to use foreign languages as the official medium

of communications. Both Somalia and Algeria were lucky to have one language; this made it possible to adopt scripts for these languages which now function as the medium of communication and instruction.

On closing the seminar, the conference had issued resolutions pertaining to all topics discussed.

Although the participation of the African and Asian continents was far less than expected yet the seminar was a success and it could be characterised as the true representative to express the feelings of the progressive forces which are waging a continuous struggle against world imperialism.

## DOES WRITING EXPAND LANGUAGE?



Nomads learning the script under the tree.

In the last Issue of this Magazine Halgan, I raised the question: «How far was the writing of the Somali language successful?» The introduction had dealt with the

importance of writing to the language, but the article had outlined the need for a two-way communication between the government and the masses. An understanding

By Ibrahim Awed (Kholi)

between the governor and the governed is very essential if harmony is to prevail in a country.

As I promised you, I will discuss the question: «Does the writing of the Somali language expand it and help mass education?» To discuss this question, one must look into the following two headings which are closely interwoven:

### 1. EXPANSION OF EDUCATION:

The adoption of the script to write the Somali language and the launching of the literacy campaign have both played key roles in the expansion of education since the October Revolution in 1969. Generally, one gains knowledge either through direct life experience or through learning from others by reading and by hearing stories. As man's life-span is relatively short, direct life experience avails us not very much knowledge, though it is, by far, the most useful form of acquiring knowledge: we learn from others a lot, but «with the exception of the preserved material such as publications, recordings, films and photos» much of it is oral, and is therefore bound to be unreliable since its verbatim objectively diminishes its authenticity;

so it reaches us in a distorted and defaulted condition.

For this reason, the best method to expand knowledge remains to be the written form. The authenticity of any written First-hand information could be as good as any first-hand information we obtain from original source, for it has not lost its details on a chain of story letters and story receivers. Considering that literacy was useful to the expansion of knowledge among the masses, we can raise the question: «Why shouldn't we use the foreign language to fight illiteracy?» The simple answer to such a question would have been: «It is better draw water with your own hands than with other's hands». In spite of the fact that the foreign languages «both Italian and English» were fully developed languages, yet it would have been an impossible task to produce over a million literates in so short a time. The sensible thing to do was to apply the Somali proverb quoted above. It would have been a futile exercise to try to teach nomadic mothers, for example, how to read and write English in few months. It would have been more sensible as was proven by the results of the literacy campaign launched in 1974, to adopt a script - few dozens of letters and to teach mothers, workers, peasants and livestock herders these letters so that they could easily learn how to read and write their own mother-tongue, instead of introducing a language completely new to them. The results of adopting the Somali script are:

a) In 1974, a literacy campaign was launched and with-

in a few months, 1,757,779 people were taught how to read and write Somali;

b) The campaign is continued on yearly basis but in a smaller scale, and as a result 568,546 people were enrolled in literacy classes this year;

c) More people turned up for the enrolment of the adult education due to the increase of the adult literates. This increase is 265%, a rise from 18,056 in 1969 to 65,907 in 1977:

d) School population rose by 341% since the Revolution (from 55,023 in 1969 to 242,696 in 1977) due both to the writing of the Somali language and to the building of more classrooms.

As it been seen from the statistical data, the rate of the growth of female school population is far greater than that of the male population; In primary and secondary schools, boys increased by 35% while girls rose by 747%; Similarly, in the adult education, the number of the male rose by 162% while that of the female increased by 744%. This is a clear indication of the fast speed which sisters are catching up with their brothers who had so far dominated the educational opportunities in the country. Competition is permissible as long as it is healthy.

It is also worth mentioning that writing the Somali language has greatly improved the communication between the teacher and his pupils, for the mother-tongue provided the teacher with better chance to explain the lessons easier. The syllabi was also changed in or-

der to draw example and inspirations from the local environment and from the national culture which are, no doubt, much easier for our children to understand. Even changing the foreign names in universal tales has been an inconceivable help. These changes would have not been possible without writing the Somali language. Formerly, students had two problems; lessons grew more difficult to comprehend on the one hand and more unknown words confronted them on the other. Now, lessons do get harder but relatively fewer unknown words came up. So at least one of these two twine problems was either wholly solved or minimized.

## 2. EXPANDING THE LANGUAGE

As soon as the Somali script was adopted and the mother-tongue was introduced into the offices and schools, it was noted that our language was under-developed at least in so far as science technology and administration were concerned. We appreciated that our language has primarily come from the nomadic way of life as well as from primitive peasantry. Therefore, it was necessary to create a massive range of new terminology so that the Somali language can be effective in all fields and levels of the modern life from the fields of technology, sciences, philosophy and social sciences to the general administration of the country. This, in effect was expanding and enriching the Somali language itself.

Initially, newspaper readers, office clerks and students could not be sure of the use and application of many Somali words. It was a common practice to use (in brac-



kets) foreign words and phrases for reasons of more clarification in case the Somali words failed to convey the intended message. Thanks heavens, today this state of uncertainty has now come to an end, office correspondence is more trimmend and the clerks are more confident in their mother-tongue, dispensing with labouriously punctuating foreign words and phrases in office correspondence and reports. This was not an easy task, I believe; it needed a hard work and the language was enriched in four directions:

a) Terminology have drawn from the pastoral life, giving them a meaning with a dimension greater than its original one. This range of terminology concerns science, technology, general administration, philosophy etc. For example: **BULSHO**: Formerly known as a small group of cattleherders, this word is now synonymous with «society», and «community» thus gaining a considerable dimension in meaning. So with its help, we speak of «Somali society» and of «word community». **JAANGOoyo**: Formerly known as making foot-measurement in order to make shoes, this word is now used for «planning» so with its help, we speak «national planning». **KORMEER**: Formerly used when elderly people go out to ensure that the livestock are well-looked after by the youth, it now embraces the wide meanings of inspection and controlling the implementation of the national duties as well as of auditing national accounts.

b) Terminology was translated<sup>d</sup> literally from foreign languages. This range of terminology at first

sounded strange and distasteful but as time went on, both the ear and the pen have accustomed to them. Examples **MADAXWEYNE** (head of state), **WAREEGO** (circular), **WARBIXIN** (report), **JEEGA WAREEGA** (circular cheque), **DANJIRE** (charge' d'affaires), **XISAAB-SOCOTA** (current account), **CASHUURT A DADBAN** (indirect tax), **WAXBARASHADA AAN TOOSKA AHAYN** (informal education), **SAADAASHA HAWADA** (weather forecast), **BADMAAX** (seaman), **Jaalle Xalimo** (Comrade Halimo), **WERIYAHA SONNA HEBLA** ((SONNA Reporter, Miss x), **AGAASIMAHA HEBLA** (Director, Miss y). For the benefit of non-Somalis, traditionally Somali language has different genders for adjectives that describe female names, so this is a break of the traditional rule); **GANACSIGA GUDAHA** (internal trade), **GANACSIGA UMMADDA** (national trade), **WASAARADDA SHAQADA IYO CAYAARAHA** (Ministry Labour and Sports). The translation of the two trade example, is not only funny but it is also equivocal. They can have connotations which are funny and unkind. In the case of the name of the Ministry, the Somali version sounds ironic, because traditionally the idea of labour «shaqo» is conflicting with that of sports «cayaar», later on, the word «cayaar» was dropped and «sport» was Somalized which really conveys the meaning of «playing». So one makes joke of asking: «how can working and playing go in harmony? Either you are playing or you are

working».

Technology which were foreign but Somalized. The So-foreign but somalized. The Somali language has many words of Arabic origin. These are not under discussion here. I mean the latin origin such as the names of the months which normally take the Italian pronunciation, as well as the words: science, bank, philosophy, technology, ideology, book, cheque, motor, chiuuffer, driver, mechanic, engineer, film, police, military, fascism, bourgeois, democracy, sports, etc. These are pronounced in English, Arabic or Italian, according to one's foreign background.

Terminology drawn from the meaning of Somali words such as **hantiwadaagayn** «socializing», or **qaramayn** «nationalizing», **maarayn** «managing», **midayn** «uniting», **aqoondirsad** «Educational correspondence», **Unug** «cell». **Hoggaan** «Bureau», **bukaan-socod** «dispensary» As you can note, some of the terms are Somali words which were given a new form of verb. The noun «Tol», takes the suffix «ayn» to form the verb «tolayn», which is nationalizing with a bit of tribal colour. So to refrain from any word that has tribal connotations, the word «tolayn» was dropped and «Qaramayn» drawn from «Qaran» which is free from tribal background, was taken instead:

In the next issue, I will discuss the last part of this series, under the heading: Documentation of history and culture.

Schools	1969	1977	%
— Primary	48.611	229.030	371
— Secondary	6.412	13.666	113
Total	55.023	242.696	431
— Male	45.447	161.577	35
— Female	9.576	81.119	747
Total	14.868	39.016	162
ADULT EDUCATION			
— Male	3.188	26.891	744
— Female	18.056	65.907	265
Total	73.079	308.603	336
The Grand Total	— —	1.757.779	
LITERECY			
— Campaign (1974)	— —	568.546	
— Continuation			

## MOTHER AFRICA (A Poem)

Mohamed Haibe Kahin

The history of the emergence of Africa as a respectable continent is one of toil and sacrifice. There was a time when Africa was known as the «Dark Continent», and the word «Negro» was synonymous with «Slave». Africa has been the victim of the worst possible form of exploitation at the hands of the imperialists. But then, we the people of Africa, pulled ourselves out of this toil and abyss owing to our unity, combined with the justified ambition to be recognised as free nation of the world. The unity that was responsible for our deliverance ought to be maintained and fellow African nations should not dance to the tune of the imperialists, staking their own rights and privileges. The poem that follows contains a message for Africa in general and for Ethiopia in particular.

Who is unaware of the past gloomy days of Mother Africa,  
 Of the ebony-skinned Mother held fast in the servile chains,  
 Of her sufferings borne as the victim of colonialism and strife,  
 Of the ships that put off her coastal harbours in pursuit,  
 Whereby thousands of her off spring forcibly deported for sale,  
 And all her treasure and riches carried to alien lands,

Of her fabulous body whose colour as black as the night,  
Rendered bloody by the hands of the villainous Whites,  
Who tore her up into micro-states and deprived her of human rights.  
Indeed Mother Africa is torn and tortured to a piteous extent!  
With the tortured cry of agony distorting her innocent lips,  
With her long range call for help far to her children,  
Thousands, inspired by her call, took up their weapons to deliver her;  
The long bitter struggle ensued thus ended with the Whites' defeats;  
Mother Africa was finally rescued and history has taken a new turn.  
Decades and centuries passed till at last Mother Africa's day arrived,  
Walls fell that had barred her earlier from the progressive world;  
The glorious days of spirit spread with a refreshing force,  
Cheers for Africa's deliverance echoed through the continent!  
Now are Mother Africa's cherished dreams to be fully fulfilled.  
Woe for her sad fate! Mother Africa again turned pale and ill,  
The worst, never expected tragic event, has befallen her:  
The eldest son, her future hope, was fooled and led astray;  
The White imperialists had influenced the fool and he sided with them;  
He became a black imperialist and colonized his own flesh and blood!  
But alas! Even though most of the white colonialists were forced out,  
The old fool still clings to the territories illegally acquired,  
And despite his Marxist-Leninist rhetorics, continues the colonial legacy,  
Denying the right to self-determination of the people of Western Somalia and Eritrea!

## BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



# OVERCOMING FOOD SCARCITY

By Amina H. Adan

This essay presents a review of the book *Food First Beyond the Myth* by Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1977). This important book leaves a lasting impression on anyone who reads it. It is written in a simple and straightforward manner, its chapters are headed by challenging questions such as: «Are people a liability or a Resource?» Does Ignorance Breed Babies? etc. Apart from its attractive style and from, the book's content is extremely crucial since it deals with the issue of food self-sufficiency in the underdeveloped world.

The author debunks and destroys the popular myth that the underdeveloped countries have no choice but to endure the vicious trap of poor technology, population explosion and a declining agricultural surplus. They accept the fact that at present hunger and malnutrition kill about 10,000 people a day, main children for life, deforming bodies and disabling minds. Paradoxically, the authors amass facts to prove that most of the suffering is in areas where the soil is fertile, the climate is good and the population is not too dense! The author shows that it is too simplistic to blame nature or population growths. They marshal a great deal of figures and

facts to demonstrate that the various «Symptoms» of underdevelopment cannot be taken to account for the real roots or cause of the problem.

The authors argue that there is no two separate worlds as we imagine, «one as HAVE and the other HAVE not». They add: «colonialism destroyed the cultural patterns of production and exchange by which traditional society had met the needs of the people. Pre-colonial village existence in subsistence agriculture was a limited life indeed but it is certainly not calcutta». They make us understand that the misery we see in present day calcutta, for example is the outcome of a long historical process. Like Walter Rodney in his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, the authors view the term «underdevelop» not as an adjective but as a verb meaning the process of undermining a certain society. It is a process involving domination and exploitation leading to socio-economic distortions, dependency etc.

Issues such as malnutrition, level of agricultural production or the ecological endowment of a particular underdeveloped country must therefore, be viewed not as separate entities but within the context of a historical past invol-

ving subjugation and exploitation. Popular propaganda pictures the world today as one in which hungry millions are a burden to a well-fed few. The truth is that the over-fed few have benefitted from the exploitation of the hungry millions.

Prior to colonial domination, most of these countries, did not experience the food shortages they encounter today. In 1890 a British agriculturalist working in India admired the ingenuity of the Indian farmer. He marvelled at their system of rotation and mixed crops and noted: «I, at least, have never seen a more perfect picture of cultivation.»

John Stuart Mill once observed that colonies were not really countries but «agricultural establishments» whose only purpose were to supply the metropolitan powers with foodstuffs, raw materials and cheap labour. Gambia, for examples, before the advent of colonialism, produced a great deal of rice. During colonial rule, Peanuts took the place of rice. Similarly, Zanzibar came to produce cloves rather than rice. In Ghana, cocoa came to replace yams and food-stuffs in order to provide Europe with chocolate! Liberia became a virtual plantation subsidiary for Firestone Tire and Rub-

ber company. In Benin and South East Nigeria, food production was abandoned in favour of palm oil. Tanzania was forced by her former colonizers to focus on sisal and Uganda on cotton and coffee. French landowners exploited Vietnamese labour in order to transform the Mekong Delta into the world's largest rice exporting zone while millions of Vietnamese went hungry.

Generally, cash crops took the place of food-stuff production under colonial imposition. Colonial strategy involved forcing the colonized people to grow cash crops instead of needed food-stuffs. It is the colonizer who benefits from oriented agriculture towards cash crops exports.

The authors vividly described the gun and whip methods utilized to impose cash-crop growing upon formerly self-sufficient populations colonially imposed taxation also served as a means of reinforcing cash crops growing. The huge profits amassed in this process served the colonizers at the expense of the colonized. Thus it came to be that countries emerged specializing in the production of one or two crops such as sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, sisal, tobacco, banana, peanuts etc.

Naturally, colonial exploitation met with stiff resistance on the part of the exploited people. Eventually this resistance led to the rise of national liberation movements.

Unfortunately for most countries the era of independence has not resulted in the effective destruction of underdevelopment. Cash crop growing and food depen-

dency continue to plague many countries. Nevertheless, certain countries have begun to pursue policies effectively aimed at severing the colonial links that maintain exploitation and underdevelopment. The authors single out the people's Republic of China as a shining example of a country that has solved many of the problems confronting Third World countries. They point out that »In China today, there is no inflation, no starvation no beggars, no hunger or malnutrition.« The Chinese, formerly plagued by droughts and floods have worked to multiply the irrigated land. They have doubled their yield of major grains in two decades. Of course, the authors

point out that it would not be possible or desirable to imitate blindly all aspects of the great Chinese experiment. However, it has great many lessons to offer the peoples of the underdeveloped countries.

Since the October Revolution of 1969, Somalia has been pursuing policies aimed at food self-sufficiency by 1980 as described in an article which appeared in HALGAN Number 10 (August 1977) »Food First« gives an ample evidence to support all efforts aimed at self-reliance and self-sufficiency in food stuffs. The authors have, in fact, indicated interest in further studying the experience Somalia in this and related matters.

## HALGAN BIBLIOGRAPHY NO. I

This is the First of a projected series of bibliographies on Halgan materials. It is offered as a useful reference for our readers some of whom, from time to time, may need to refer to particular back issues of Halgan. This bibliographical list covers materials included in the issues of Halgan that have appeared during the past year up to and including the October First Anniversary issue.

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Cont. from Page 25

The people of Western Somalia and Eritrea have experienced brutal colonial policies very unlike the paternalistic colonialism exercised by Sweden over Norway.

Forthly, as a result of brutal colonialist practices, the resistance struggles in Eritrea and Western Somalia have been intensive and drawn out. The genocidal wars waged by Haile Sellessia and Mengistu Haile Marian have only served to solidify the will of the colonized peoples for self-determination and independence.

Fifty and finally, it follows from the above that should Ethiopia recognize and implement the right of self-determination of peo-

ples, a healthy foundation would be laid for a movement towards cooperations and unity of the people of Ethiopia, Eritrea Western Somalia and the Somali Democratic Republic. Today we witness great solidarity and cooperation between Sweden and Norway. A genuinely decolonized Ethiopia will pave the way for even greater cooperation and unity among all the peoples of the Horn.

### SELF-DETERMINATION PROMOTES UNITY

History clearly shows that the principle of self-determination facilitates efforts aimed at bringing about cooperation and unity. The Pan-African movement has always considered African unity in the light

of unconditional African self-determination. «Eradication of all forms of colonization from Africa remains a basic objectives of the OAU charter. In wanting to perpetuate the colonization of Western Somalia and Eritrea, Ethiopia is obliged to distort the basic principles behind the movement for African unity. As we showed above, Pan-Africanist conference enthusiastically hailed the movement for the independence and unification of the Comarouns and Somalia.

The Liberation of Eritrea and Western Somalia will help to promote greater unity in the Horn of Africa as part of the steps needed to achieve greater African unity.



Mass Rally in Support Of The CC Decision

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ON SMALL HOOD & SMALL CURAN RELATIONS





A view of the historic building housing the Somali National Museum



# HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI  
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

## THE INVALIDITY OF THE EURO- ETHIOPIAN AGREEMENTS

Documentation of  
the somali history

Training of cadres

The inevitability of  
the destruction  
of racism



Struggle to  
learn, in order to  
learn to  
struggle better

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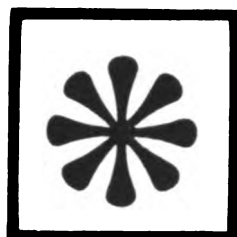
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# A NEW LIGHT ON THE HORN OF AFRICA

The USSR has adopted a comprehensive strategy of material and moral support for the Mengistu regime. This master plan is intended for the rescue of the Addis Ababa fascist regime from internal oppression resistance as well as to secure for its victories over the struggling national freedom fighters. Such open abetment and drastic support are designed to fulfill surreptitious objectives comprising of:

1. The destruction of the progressive forces struggling against the Mengistu regime inside Ethiopia;
2. The annihilation of the Eritrean people who have been engaged in their struggle for selfdetermination and independence for over 16 years;
3. The extermination of the Western Somali and Abbo peoples;
4. The endangerment of the sovereignty of the SDR whose only sin lies in the fraternal support it gives its brothers in their struggle for liberation from colonialism.

In pursuing such policies, the Soviet Union does not give the least consideration to issues of justice and of principle but, on the contrary, attempts to rationalise the highly arbitrary, terroristic measures of assassination adopted by the Mengistu regime as «revolutionary measures» needed for the construction of a «socialist society». Alas! the methods of crude force and cheap propaganda adopted have only contributed to the intensification of the problems they are designed to cure. Indeed, it is highly misleading to suggest that the masses are ignorant and need to be coerced and brutalized in order to mobilize them to follow the instructions of the ruling regime that consider itself «revolutionary» while hating every socialist force in the society. Claiming dedication to such grotesque distortions, the Mengistu regime has proceeded cold-bloodedly in the massacres and genocidal measures against the Abyssinian masses and the national liberation forces. History will never forgive such anti-human crimes.

On the other hand, Western nations have, on several occasions, proclaimed their intention to remain neutral with regards to the problems in the Horn of Africa, as long as the armed struggles are going on. This position could be taken to imply:

1. Since the Soviet Union has fallen into a miserable trap, let it reap the expected whirlwind;

2. The conditions are generally favourable to West and hence, there is no need for haste; on one hand the previously existing good relationships between the USSR and the SDR have ceased to exist and, on the other hand, the special links between the USSR and the Mengistu clique may likewise come to nothing given the precarious nature of the Mengistu regime.

Assuming that the USSR is aware of such plans why does it therefore remain blind to such possibilities? The reason lies in the deliberate political and strategical ends that USSR is endeavouring to fulfill in this region, such as:

a. The provision of a foothold for the Addis Ababa regime while building a good image for Mengistu himself;

b. The forceful domination of the territories under the subjugation of the «Ethiopian Empire». A sobering instance of this fact is provided by the recent acknowledgement by the USSR ( see Soviet News of November 22nd, 1977; page 408), that in addition to the 4 million Eritreans, another 15 million people who used to be under the «Ethiopian Empire» are no longer under its rule. Well then, if 19million people have liberated them selves from the colonialism implied by the Ethiopian Empire; forcing them back to its domination would serve what end? Such a projected brutal enslavement of millions could only serve to secure the rule of the Mengistu clique at whatever cost. In order to pursue such atrocious objectives, certain drastic measures have been adopted such as:

i. The supply of huge amounts of sophisticated armaments and foreign military troops to the Addis Ababa regime in order to overwhelm the liberation movements while at the same time militarily menacing any state which supports these movements;

ii. The forceful establishment of a sea route for Abbyssinia from any of the neighbouring lands i.e. Eritrea, Djibouti or even on the territory of the SDR itself.

c. Fictitious projects and propaganda aimed to bolster the Mengistu regime on the issue labelled «the question of nationalities». A great deal of hullabaloo has been raised about the creation of so-called «autonomous» regions within the Ethiopian Empire: Like South Africa's Bantustan policy, the aim here is to mislead world-opinion by pretending to give due consideration to the oppressed nationalities inside «Ethiopia». In fact, the people of these regions will not be permitted to exercise their right of self-determination. If this gimmick fails, these nationalities will be compelled by armed force to accept colonialism.

(d) The intensification of the armed struggle between the Abbyssinian colonial army and the Western Somali freedom fighters before the rest of the World becomes fully aware about the true nature of the situation.

e. While actively supporting Mengistu, the Soviet Union and its «clients» are also busy preparing ground for the eventuality of Mengistu's fall. Obviously, Mengistu's lacks the qualities necessary for permanent Russian influence inside Ethiopia. The Soviet Union and its client's are busy grooming members of the armed forces



and pushing some of their new puppets into the membership of the Dergue in order to serve their present and future interests.

Accordingly, the Soviet Union is fully aware that the non-involvement of the Western States is fully to its advantage. The USSR and its «client states» can supply all the required armaments and troops needed by the Addis Ababa regime in order to overwhelm the liberation forces and to threaten the existence of the SDR; the SDR on the other hand, does not get similar support. The Soviet Union is also aware that the world is not fully cognizant with the realities behind the conflicts in the Horn and that is why it opted for drastic armed intervention.

Nevertheless, world opinion is becoming more and more concerned about the situation; representatives of international organisations and leaders of African states have begun to express their anxiety about the dangers involved in the situation and to express their desire to participate in attaining a political settlement of the problem.

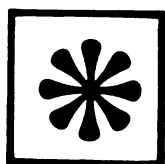
Now then, what is the stand of the SDR? On various occasions, the President of the SDR, Jaalle Siad, has warned against the internationalization of this dispute as it is essentially between the colonialism perpetuated by the Addis regime and the freedom fighters seeking their liberty.

Even though the Soviet Union has aggravated the conflict by internationalising the dispute in the Horn, Somalia still stands ready for a peaceful settlement based on justice in order to realise the best solution to the problems involved. The President of the SDR and General Secretary of the SRSP declared this at the recent opening of the Congress for the Movement of Somali Cooperatives Organisations on January 7th 1978. In his speech, Jaalle Siyad said:

«The solution of the problems of the Horn of Africa lies in, first of all, the withdrawal of all foreign forces bent on internationalizing the war; following which the concerned people of Western Somalia, Abbo, Eritrea and the Addis Ababa regime should meet in a realistic and sober way, begin negotiations on the serious issues between them. The Somali Government is fully ready to bear its obligations in an African neighbourly way in order to assist in the possibilities open through negotiations.

In spite of the aggressive military acts and permanent hostile propaganda unleashed by the Addis Ababa regime against the SDR, in the vain hope of confusing the struggles it is waging against the liberation forces over issues it refuses to solve justly and peacefully, the SDR is ever ready to enter into direct negotiations with the Addis Ababa regime in order to convince it that there is no basis for its hostility and condemnation of the SDR.

Let us conclude by asking: can it be expected of the Soviet Union to change its stand and cease creating serious problems in the Horn? Is it really possible for the Soviet Union to terminate its foreign intervention and contribute to the peaceful, just solution to the problem as demanded by the people of the region and concerned peoples everywhere?



# THE ORGANISATION OF SOMALI COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

For a long time now; ground has been laid for the organisation of hitherto scattered groups of small farmers, peasants, workers in industry, livestock, fishing and small scale trade. Tireless preparatory work was crowned with success at the Founding Congress of the Organisation of the Somali Cooperative Movement which opened in Mogadishu on January 6th 1978. The Founding of the OSCM provides a tangible response to many of those who after wondered: why don't we give a helping hand to various categories of Somali producers, especially those in rural areas?

Some people raised simplistic questions expecting hasty governmental actions, many of these did not fully understand the complex nature of the existing system of production and the various preparatory steps taken since October 1969 to orient it towards socialist oriented production.

The Revolution inherited an agricultural sector that could be said to consist of three methods of farming. Somalia never experienced an extensive system of feudal — capitalist agriculture. The three categories in Somalia agriculture may be depicted as follows:

A. Average size farms specialising in the production of bananas for export; characterized by capitalist ownership and methods of production, employing peasant labour.

B. Average size farms mostly owned by private individuals engaged in the production of maize, sorghum, sesame oil for the local market.

C. Small scale farms, each not larger than a few acres, worked by partially peasants families for subsistence. Such peasant farming contribute to the economy of the country through the peasantry gets exploited in the process of production and exchange.

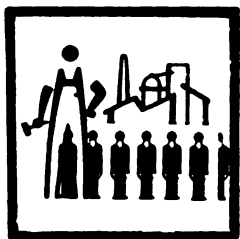
The amount of land cultivated by all these three categories of farmers did not amount to one-tenth of the total cultivable land available in Somalia in 1969.

The October 1969 Revolution put great priority in promoting the interest of the third group of small scale farmers who constitute the majority. Institutions were set up to enable them to sell their products directly to state organs at good, stable prices.

Loans were advanced for their interest by the Somali development Bank. Efforts were made to encourage large scale cooperative production and to raise the political consciousness of this category of small scale farmers. The establishment of the OSCM bears testimony to the level of political maturity attained by the poor peasantry in Somalia. The founding of such an organisation bears witness to their evergrowing sense of discipline and response to active mobilizational efforts. Even though greater priority was given to promote the interests of the majority, the Revolutionary government did not hesitate to promote as well the interests of the other two categories of farmers mentioned above. The revolution essentially aims at the general increase in production.

The Revolution has also spared no efforts in promoting the interests of the other small scale producers. It, for example, put an end to the exploitation of incense workers by those private individuals who claimed to have exclusive possession of incense producing plants. The methods of production and marketing of incense have also been improved for the benefit of incense workers who are now organised in cooperatives.

The founding of the OSCM lays the basis for greater collective solidarity necessary for removing all remaining obstacles confronting all sorts of small producers in Somalia. Somali Cooperative members will undoubtedly play a great role in the building of a strong socialist economy keeping in mind Jaalle Siyaad's words at the Congress: «Learn and promote production».



# The Invalidity of Euro-Ethiopian Agreements

By: YUSUF E. ROBLE

A perusal of the texts of the treaties of Protection concluded between the Somali people and the Colonial powers, (Viz Britain, France and Italy) at the turn of the 19th Century would testify convincingly to the Somali contention that these binding agreements were made solely to preserve the territorial integrity of lands inhabited by Somalis in the face of the real threat of the territorial aggrandizement on the part of Emperor Menelik II of Abyssinia.

The Preamble to the 1884-85 Treaties of Protection between Britain and Somali tribes unambiguously sets out the *raison d'être* of these agreements. The said preamble reads:-

«We the undersigned elders of (clan inserted here) are desirous of entering into an agreement with the British Government for the maintenance of our independence the preservation of order and other good and sufficient reasons».

The British Government in a supplementary general Treaty in 1886 solemnly covenanted to protect the Somali people and their territories. Article I of the treaty reads:-

«1. The British Government, in compliance with the wish of the undersigned elders of (clan inserted here) hereby undertake to extend to them and to the territories under their Authority and jurisdiction the gracious favour and protection of her majesty the Queen - Empress».

The Treaty of Friendship and Protection concluded between France

and the Somali Chiefs in Obok in March 26, 1885 was modelled on these signed between the Somalis and Britain. Article I of the Franco-Somali Treaty reads:-

«I There shall henceforth be eternal friendship between France and the chiefs of the Issa».

«II. The chiefs of the Issa band over their country to France that she may protect it against all foreigners».

The Treaty of 1889 concluded between Italy and North-Eastern Somalis also stressed those principles of territorial integrity and protection against external danger that were the cornerstone of the other Treaties of protection between Somalis and other colonial powers. The third paragraph of the treaty runs thus:-

«We have placed our country and all our possession, from Ras Awad to Ras El-kayle (Wadi-Nugal being the farthest limit) under the protection and Government of his Majesty's».

Perhaps by for the most succinct interpretation given by the British Government to the various treaties of protection with African chief or rulers in the 19th century and thereafter is that of Consul Hewitt, the British representative in West Africa in a letter to ruler of OPOBO in 1884, in which *inter alia*, he states that:

«The Queen does not want to take your country or your markets but at the same time she is anxious

that no other nation should take them, She undertakes to extend her gracious power and protection which will leave your country still under your Government»

2. The juridical Status of Protectorates

Jurists are divided on the status of «Protectorates» in international law. Some hold the view that because of their dependent status, protectorates are subjects of International law. (Kelsen: the Principles of International law). The majority, however, are of the persuasion that protectorates despite their dependency retain their peculiar international personality and are subjects of international law. The latter view is supported by no less an authority than Gerald Fitzmaurice who writes in this connections:-

The word «Protectorate» is often used to describe not merely a protected state in the proper sense but territories such as tribal ones under the indignant chiefs, which have not the characteristics of states at all and lack statehood. So long as an entity remains a protectorate, it may be dependent, but it is an international personality and is in some possession of external sovereignty» Writing on the same subject, Oppenheim adds:

«The characteristics of a protectorate are such that they always possess in certain respects their position in the family of nations and remain an international personality and are subjects of international law».

The International Court of Justice in its decision in the celebrated case of «the rights of U.S. Nationals in Morocco (1952) remarks thus:

«Morocco remained a state although it concluded an agreement of a contractual nature with France by which France undertook certain sovereign rights in name and on behalf of Morocco».

Georg Schwarzenberger commenting the above ruling wrote:

«The establishment of the protectorate did not deprive Morocco of its personality in International law».

The fore going quotations from some of the most eminent law jurists demonstrate that a protectorate retains its sovereignty and remains a subject of International Law, even though such sovereignty may be partially exercised through the Protector State. J.E.S. Fawcett writes in this regard.

«The fundamental characteristics of a territory under British Protection, from which all else follows, is that it is not part of H.M. dominions, but is a foreign territory. The crown-in-right of the United Kingdom therefore has jurisdiction, but not sovereignty territories' under its protection». (The British Commonwealth in Int. Law P. 118 (1963).

Perhaps the most definitive statement on the subject of the Status of a «Protectorate» is that of British Colonial Secretary in a House of Commons debate on «Somaliland», when he remarked:

«His Majesty does not possess full sovereignty there (Somaliland) but has for many years possessed full powers of Administration and Jurisdiction by virtue of usage and sufferance under the 1884 Tre-

ties». (Parliamentary debates Vol 304. 1934 - 35 July 4th. Col. 6).

The above brief survey of the subject of the legal status of «Protectorates» establishes that the Somali people on entering into solemn contractual agreements with the colonial powers never intended to transfer territorial sovereignty to the European powers.

Inter-European colonial «Agreements» and Euro-Ethiopian Treaties.

Subsequent to the various Treaties of Protection with the Somalis, the 3 European colonial powers (viz, Britain, France and Italy initially carved up Somali territories among themselves as «sphere of influence» in flagrant disregard of all the fundamental principles enshrined in the Treaties of Protection and Later concluded with colonialist Abyssinia a new set of arrangements in violation of the Somalo-European Protection Treaties and the Inter-European arrangements.

The 1897 Euro-Abyssinian «Treaties» enabled Abyssinia to acquire illegally a large part of the Somali territory in addition to Harar which she had earlier occupied by force with the connivance and support of the European Imperialists.

In this modest endeavour we shall attempt to set out in some detail the salient feature appertaining to the various agreements and the motives that propelled the European colonial powers to abandon large areas of Somali territory to colonial Abyssinia. And here I use the word «abandon» intentionally in lieu of the entirely different legal term «cede» which we contend cannot be legally applied to the case in point.

a) The Franco-Abyssinian Treaty of 1897.

France's colonial interests in the Horn of Africa were two fold: (1)

to secure a port on the Red sea so as to protect her vast imperial interests in the Far East, (II) to gain the friendship of imperialist Abyssinia which would give her Commercial privileges and also advance her long-ranges interests in the Nile head - waters. It was in pursuit of the afore-stated goals that a French Mission travelled to Addis Ababa in 1897 to discuss the question of delimitation and subsequently signed the so-called Franco-Abyssinian Treaty of 1897 with Menlik II. This colonial agreement, as we shall show subsequently, was contrary to (i) all the principles and provisions solemnly embodied in the Treaties of Protection that France made with the Somalis, and (ii) the provisions of the 1888 Anglo-French «arrangements» appertaining to the boundary between the French and British protectorates. The 1888 Anglo-French arrangement referred to define the inland depth of the French Protectorate to Gildessa and beyond towards Harar; the so-called Franco-Abyssinian Treaty of 1897 reduced the depth to Jalelo.

b) The Angola-Abyssinia «Treaty» of 1897.

The above subject is best treated in a tract published by the Somali Government in June 1974 under the title «the portion of Somali territory under Ethiopian colonisation», and here I shall take the liberty to quote extensively from that publication in relation to this question. When dealing with this topic the publication reads as follows:

«In 1897 Britain also sent a mission to obtain among other things, Menelik's approval to the «delimitation» of their Somali possessions» in the Horn of Africa. This mission struck a bargain with Menelik and on May 14, 1897 Britain and Abyssinia reached an «agreement». Under this agreement notes were exchanged between the



British and the Abyssinian representatives aiming at the delimitation of their frontiers. In this exchange of notes Britain clearly gave away Somali territory which had never been part of Abyssinia. Asked by the British Representative, Mr. Rodd, for an assurance that it will be his «special care» that the Somalis so ceded shall not be «losers by this transfer of suzerainty», Menelik replied that the «Somalis who may by boundary arrangements become subjects of Ethiopia shall be well treated and have orderly government». This so-called Anglo-Abyssinian Treaty amounted to a breach of the earlier Anglo-Italian arrangement of 1894 and also violated the Anglo-Somali Treaties of Protection of 1884-1886.

The fact that the British made substantial territorial concessions to Abyssinia can in no way be challenged. When the British Government was negotiating with Menelik II with regard to the conclusion of the so-called Treaty of 1897, the British representative had the instruction: «You are authorized, if absolutely necessary, to make concessions in regard to the frontiers of the Somali - land Protectorate as defined in the Anglo-Italian protocol of 1894 provided such concessions are not of a nature to interfere with the main object for which the protectorate was assumed, namely the securing of adequate supplies for the support of Aden».

The reasons that led Britain to abandon Somali territories in favour of Abyssinia were threefold:

- 1) Assurances by Menelik not to allow the passage of arms to the Mahdists in the Sudan.
- 2) To persuade Ethiopia not to allow France which was engaged in furthering her colonial interests in the Nile to penetrate through Abyssinia and;
- 3) To safeguard the ever-growing British Commercial interests.

It was clearly brought out by Mr. Rennel Rodd, the Head of the British Mission to Menelik, in his report on the negotiations that the territory surrendered by Britain to Abyssinia under the so-called Treaty of 1897 was a Somali territory and had never been part of Abyssinia: He stated:

«Looking at the way in which the frontier was traced, Menelik exclaimed: But you are advancing right up to the gates of Harar; I pointed out that it was Abyssinia which had advanced up to us; that we were the revisionaries of Egypt in those districts and had established ourselves then by treaties with the Somalis before the Abyssinians had come to Harar. The Emperor then again referred to the ancient limits of Abyssinia.

I asked him how the Somalis, who had been established in these regions for so many centuries, could possibly be looked down as included within the ancient limits of Ethiopia».

c) The Anglo - Italian protocol of 1894 and the Italo-Ethiopian Agreements 1897 and 1908.

Italy and Britain as rival protector states of Somali territories banded together in 1894 and initialled a Protocol relating to a delineation of their respective sphere of influence. Under this Protocol Britain, in clear breach of the Treaties of protection with the Somalis, transferred large areas of Somali territories to Italy.

In the wake of her defeat at the hands of Menelik II at Adowa in 1896, Italy was in no mood to resist the territorial expansionism of Abyssinia and accordingly signed an agreement with Menelik II in 1897 under which Italy abandoned her claim to sizable areas of Somali territory including present Ogadenia in favour of the Abyssinian tyrant. This accord was made in flagrant violation of Italy's obligations and promise of protection under the treaties signed with the Somalis in 1889.

On May 16, 1908. Italy and Abyssinia signed a so-called convention purporting to establish boundaries in respect of Italo-Abyssinian possessions of Somali territory.

The invalidity of this so-called convention as other spurious colonial arrangements will be taken up below; suffice it to say that the exact interpretations of the 1897 and 1908 «arrangements» have never been agreed upon by Abyssinia and Italy.

The depredations and pillage to which the Somali nation was mercilessly subjected to in 1897 and preceding years are graphically portrayed by Professor Tom J. Farrer in his book, «War clouds on the Horn of Africa».

«All in all, 1897 was a banner year for Ethiopia. Each of its European, colonial neighbours had sharply contracted its territorial claims and manifested a pressing desire for Ethiopian friendship. It was now evident that Friendship would be given only on terms of absolute equality. There would be no more nonsense about Protectorates. A great year for Ethiopians; a black one for Somalis, although, since they were neither consulted before nor informed after the agreements, it was years before they would appreciate what had happened».

The essence of the Somali argument vis-à-vis the Treaties of protection has always been that the said Treaties never contemplated nor granted to the colonial authorities the legal right to «cede» Somali territories.

Mr. John Drysdale — an outstanding British Authority on Somali history — writes in his book «The Somali Dispute».

«The burden of the Somali arguments was that in their treaties with Britain in 1884-85 they did not transfer territory to the British

Grown, but sought on the with drawal of the forces of the Khedive of Egypt, arrangements with the British Government which would effectively maintain their independence and the preservation of order. In return the Somalis agreed not to cede any portion of the territories inhabited by them. Further treaties in 1886 invited the British Government to undertake the protection of their territories. Thus the Somalis considered that the 1897 Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty (like-wise the 1894 Treaty with Italy) and the more recent 1954 agreements were violations of the 1884-86 Angola - Somali treaties and in-so far as the Treaties with Ethiopia purported to transfer Somali territory to Ethiopia, they were invalid: the action of Great Britain was therefore unlawful».

The British rejoinder to the Somali argument is to recognise their obligation under the treaties of protection, but attribute a superior status in International law to agreements subsequently concluded with Ethiopia and Italy involving the transfer of Somali territories. On the occasion of a common debate on the 1954 Ethio - British agreement, the then British colonial Secretary remarked,

«The 1897 treaty is an International instrument, whereas the other agreements were not... (Hansard, Parliamentary debates 1954).

In the light of the above-stated, the treaties of Protection that the 3 European colonial powers entered into with the Somalis would be presumed to be governing acts of those states in relations to Somali territories. The said treaties were International instruments and as such would be regulated by the General principles of International Law applicable to such agreements. A basic such principle is that International accords must be strictly observed and states should refrain from entering into any other contractual obligations adverse to or inconsis-

tent with pre-existing obligations. In the present case, the colonial authorities having concluded treaties with the Somali people for the protection of their territories could not validly transfer such territories without the consent or knowledge of the protected. The question could be more legally framed thus: WERE THE EURO-COLONIAL POWERS LEGALLY ENTITLED TO CEDE SOMALI TERRITORIES TO ONE ANOTHER OR TO ETHIOPIA?

Cession is defined as the transfer of territorial sovereignty or the title to territory from one state to another. The act of cession involves a renunciation in favour of the latter of the right and title which the former may have to the territory in question.

We have already shown that the colonial powers did not possess territorial sovereignty in relation to the Somali Territories over which they exercised jurisdiction and therefore could not validly have ceded such territories to third States.

It follows the Ethiopian Government, for instance, can not invoke or rely on invalid agreements purporting to cede territories to her, for the title that cession confers is derivative in the sense that its validity is dependent upon the validity of the title of the ceding State - *memoria plus plus juris transferro potest quam Ius habet*.

The above proposition is amply supported by the Island of Palmas case, in which the USA based its claim partly on the Treaty of Paris of 1898 which transferred to the USA all rights, of sovereignty which Spain might have possessed in a certain region said to include the contested Island. The Arbitrator held the Treaty could not be regarded as conclusive for «it is evident that Spain could not transfer more rights than she herself

A careful analysis of the historical antecedents to the 1897 and 1908 treaties would establish beyond all reasonable doubt that the accords were secured or forced on the European colonial authorities by fear of a real threat from a militarily ascendant Menelik (vide Supra). Under the circumstances it can not be disputed that such treaties are void on ground of coercion or duress.

It cannot also be controverted that the «colonialist» boundary treaties symbolise a monument of injustice and a denial of one of the most basic human rights - that of self-determination of peoples.

As the distinguished British jurist, Dr. D.W. Bowett, aptly remarks: «... title to territory, whatever its treaty origin, must be consistent with the right of self-determination in order to qualify for acceptance in the charter era».



## The Birth and Growth of the Cooperatives

By: YASIN GELLE

### HISTORICAL BACK GROUND:

The concept of the cooperative movement emerged in the nineteenth century. It has been propounded by the Utopian socialists, such as, Robert Owen, Saint Simon and others. These theoreticians endeavoured for a long time to implement their cooperative ideas. They

observed this as the only solution for the misery, injustice and oppression that prevailed in these societies. They resorted to attain socialism through cooperatives and to eliminate oppression and exploitation. The fact is that they were not victorious in their plans, on

the one hand they could not conceive the methods of implementing cooperatives concepts due to the stiff opposition of the bourgeois which was a potent force. Robert Owen, who was a British economist propagated the ideas and concept of cooperatives in England in the year 1771-1858. He tried to transform the society of that country into a cooperative Society. He tried to convince the proletariat about the advantage of the cooperative system. Marx, referring to the deligence of these theorists, especially Robert Owen said that it was an indelible task which bore the fruits of the cooperatives movement. Saint Simon and Charles Fourier also played a significant role in the cooperative movement in 1760 — 1937. This revived the history of the cooperatives movement once again. Hence cooperatives of the new type emerged in the industrial centres where proletariat worked. They were the vanguard of the progressive forces in their struggle for political and economic emancipation. This type of cooperatives were founded in 1840 by 28 workers and was implemented on 24th October 1844. The main objectives for the formation of this cooperative was to safe guard its members from the excessive oppression and exploitation of the bourgeois in food prices and other essentials. The basic principles of this cooperative were:

1. To sell a commodity with good quality and correct weight.
2. To sell the commodity in cash with moderate price.

3. Profit is shared with regard to selling (the profit of the person is the amount he buys from the shop of the cooperative).

4. Part of the profit of the cooperative should be used in educating its members.

5. Every individual should be free to vote (one man one vote).

Hence, cooperatives discovered their principles in order to under-

stand the concept and advantage of cooperatives. This later engendered the immediate propagation of the cooperative formation in Europe.

In 1913 there were approximately 3,000,000 members in the cooperatives and this reached 7,000,000 members in 1914. In England 1,000 cooperatives were established. These tasks evoked the implementation and value of cooperatives for the societies in all countries of the world.

### COOPERATIVES OF THE NEW TYPE:-

After this period the idea of cooperation spread through out the World. This movement was headed by the workers and farmers to prevent exploitation.

The Formation of the cooperatives was realised after the proletariat armed with the principles of scientific socialism seized power. The first proletariat revolution occurred in the Soviet Union. This fostered the oppressed societies and furnished them with the cooperative idea, of technology and skill, devoid of oppression and exploitation, as well as lacking economic competition and social contradictions. Consequently this trend has enhanced the qualitative and quantitative change of the cooperatives and the birth of international cooperation with a common leading body having its headquarters in London. The present figure of the cooperatives is more than 500 million members.

The 22nd session of this organisation which was held at Moscow discussed the validity of the principles of Rochdale at the present era. A committee selected for this purpose introduced to the 23rd congress the following points, which was unanimously agreed, with special consideration to the Lenin's principles of cooperatives.

- 1. That cooperatives membership is optional where there is no im-

position or prohibition regardless of social, religion or race and membership is opened to any body who is capable and ready to fulfil membership responsibilities.

2. A cooperative is a democratic organization run by a committee selected among its members. These members have the right to vote, elect, and also to manage the accounts of their cooperative.

3. To invest equal capital and receive the profit equally with regard to the work of the individual.

4. Every cooperative should make a budget for training its members, workers and the society in general.

5. Cooperative organizations should have mutual relation with in the national and international spheres.

Accordingly, the cooperatives of many countries reached a rapid growth. The agricultural cooperatives in many countries had nearly 3.M. members. France 2.M, and Russia 2M. The first developed cooperatives were the food producing ones to the work of the individual.. and fishing cooperatives.

The objective of the food cooperatives was to sell their products at a normal price among its members. The agricultural cooperatives emerged all at once, especially the marketing and selling ones. However cooperative movements emerged with the advent of the independence of their countries. This movement was inline with their developmental plans and their economic base.

The colonialists were against the idea of cooperatives in order to avoid the birth of antagonistic economic or political power. But every country had its own traditional and cultural cooperation for their struggle against nature.

## THE BIRTH OF SOMALI COOPERATIVES:

Since Somalia is one of the developing countries the history of her cooperatives is not a remote one. In the precolonial era, the Somali farmers and nomads lived in a subsistence economy. They had a traditional cooperation in farming, watering the animal, and defence against wild beasts. There was no oppression or exploitation apart from that of nature. Trade and fishing were lagging and technology was primitive.

The era of colonialism did not bring about any development but was marked by robbery, murder and exploitation, of the Somali farmers and nomads. The traditional cooperation was replaced by the forced labour of the farmers to till the looted farms, the fishermen had to supply small industries established by the colonialist bourgeois. The workers in those establishments had no right of their labour apart from their daily consumption. This state of affairs forced them to be slaves economically and mentally.

The long struggle waged by our people to attain their independence was wasted. The problems of the toiling classes remained unsolved during the Neo-colonial period the cooperatives formed were:-

A) Some were formed to steal the national property (taking debts without investing or returning).

B) The right people like the farmers and fishermen etc, were not allowed for membership. Membership was confined to the ministers, deputies and tribal chiefs.

C) The true cooperatives were hindered.

D) There was no legal administration.

Oppression and exploitation on the toiling masses further developed. These reasons were among the causes of the 21st October Revolution of 1969.

The October Revolution firmly established the real type of cooperatives. The objective of forming these were to cope with the interests of the peasants and proletariat. A new law was set forth to safeguard their interests, like article 40 which concerns the development and encouragement of the cooperatives, article 73 which limits the land ownership to 30 hectares by irrigation means and 60 hectares for each family by water rain. No limit was placed on the cooperatives and state owned farms. They are in a position to utilise as much land as they afford with the condition of multiplying production qualitatively and quantitatively. The objectives behind the formation of cooperatives are as follows:-

1. To increase production.
2. To shorten the gap between the rural and urban centres in the education, health and discipline aspects.
3. To mould politically conscious and skilled cadres.
4. To eliminate the evils of tribalism and ignorance and to create harmony and mutual co-existence.

Our cooperatives have fulfilled these objectives although not yet to the maximum level. The SRSP the vanguard of our society has gi-

ven special consideration to the formation and growth of cooperatives. The number of cooperatives multiplied since the birth of the Revolution. The Number of registered cooperatives on the national level are 345 with 37,313 members. There are 258 agricultural cooperatives consisting of 47 multi-purpose cooperatives and the remaining 211 are production cooperatives. The members in the agricultural cooperatives are 25,984. The district and regional level cooperatives are not included in the above figures. It is imperative to tackle the problems which hinder the development of the cooperatives. Such problems include lack of investment and instruments, their political consciousness and skill still lagged behind. The multiplicity agencies dealing with the cooperatives made some of them contribute to the inefficiency of their administrative bodies.

Now, the cooperatives are in a position to establish their own union which will help them in the following spheres:-

1. The fulfillment of the programme and statute of the Party.
2. Safeguard the interests of the cooperatives.
3. Foster socialist ideology.
4. Implement the national plan.
5. Provide good relations among the social organisations internally and externally.

For that reason, the present preparation of the 1st Congress for the establishment of cooperative organization is under way. Its formation is meant to be inline with the other social organizations.





## PARTY LIFE

### Jaalle Siad Opened a Seminar at El – Jaalle Centre



Man needs to acquire modern skills and knowledge so as to be prepared for the maximum utilization of land and sea resources. This is in line with the aspirations of the 21st October revolution which lay due significance to the knowledge and political consciousness that the Somali masses are provided. On one hand this prepares for every member of the Somali society to efficiently carry out his required role of decision — making in the political and socio-economical needs of the nation. On the other, this will facilitate one's productive contribution to the development of all aspects of the Somali life. At first situational plans and programmes are laid down for every course-study or seminar in such a way as to meet the basic needs of a certain group while at the same time fulfilling the common inte-

rests of the whole nation. Then all the different groups who acquire the study should prove the fruits of their knowledge by mobilizing others and orienting them to the most productive form of carrying out a required duty.

Thus, on 13th December 1977, the President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre opened a seminar of this kind at El Jaalle Centre in Marka District. The number of the seminar participants were 299 comprising the Somali elders i.e Nabadons, Samadons and religious elders from all the regions of the SDR.

This seminar was organized by the Ministry of Local Governments and Rural development. The duration of the course was 45 days in which the promotion of political consciousness and the orientation

to governmental administration was to be intensively taught. The main objective was to guide the learners in this seminar how to transmit the knowledge on the above mentioned areas.

On this occasion the General Secretary of the SRSP delivered a speech in which he at first reflected the long termed struggle of the Somali nation for the sake of independence. Then he pointed out the deteriorated conditions before the 21st October Revolution and compared it to the progress achieved in all aspects of life during the revolutionary era.

In his speech, Jaalle Siyad also mentioned the colonial conspiracy through which the Somaliland was partitioned and left to suffer the inherited colonial problems. Nevertheless, the President proudly proclaimed that, «the gallant Somali nation

has not only been conscious about these colonial problems but waged a freedom seeking struggle which realized the liberty and unification of two of those regions in July 1st 1960.

The President again emphasized the cause of the Somali Revolution and mentioned several victories achieved since then. In one of these statements Jaalle Siyad declared that, «the first revolutionary steps to satisfy the needs of the Somali society was to struggle against the three enemies of humanity i.e. illiteracy, hunger and disease.»

Also, the General Secretary of the SRSP described tribalism as a hideous monster and alleged those who still exercise it with «lack of morality, weak personality and lack of self-confidence».

Besides, Jaalle Siyad declared the courageous stand of the SDR toward the Western Somali cause in their just struggle against the colonialism of the Addis-Ababa regime. The President supported his reasoning by referring to the Muqdisho Declaration by the African leaders whose unanimously agreed decisions fully support all African Liberation Movements and explicitly declare the armed struggle as the only means to exterminate colonialism.

The President concluded his speech by urging the seminar participants to make the maximum use of all the study - courses and guided them to transmit this knowledge to their Somali brothers, in the rural areas who couldn't have the opportunity to take part in the seminar.

chairmen of several Bureaus, Ministers, other members of the central committee of the SRSP and high officials from the region of lower shabelle. The

President was welcomed to deliver that speech by the Minister of local governments and rural development L/Col. Abdirasaq Mohamed Abukar.

## Conferences discussed the situation in the Horn.

Whenever the struggle of the Somali people against underdevelopment, imperialism and its forms to ensure their full independence and development enters a new phase the Secretary General of the SRSP President of the Somali Democratic Republic is accustomed to define for the Somali people and the international community the path of the policy of the Somali Revolution.

Starting from the 8th anniversary of the Revolution which occurred on 21st October 1977 Jaalle Siyad delivered historical speeches to the Somali people and the international community. These speeches were delivered on different occasions such as the celebration of the 8th anniversary of the Somali Revolution, the Id-Al-Adha and the demonstrations for supporting the historical decisions of the Central Committee of the SRSP on 13th November 1977. In his speeches the President dealt with important issues concerning the existence and future trend of the Somali nation, the good of the peoples of the world in general and especially those who are still struggling for their rights to self-determination.

Among the most important issues in these speech in which the people hailed were: the situation in the horn, and the strained relations between Somalia and USSR. Albeit the decisive stand of Jaalle Siyad

there were manipulations from the reaction and their proteges who tried to deviate these resolutions for the benefit of their specific interests. This became conventional for the reactions and saboteurs to delude the masses when-ever there is a genuine decision by the Somali Revolution.

When the decisions of 13th November concerning the new steps taken by the SDR on the relations between us and the Soviet Union on one hand and SDR and Cuba on the other engendered by the full support of these countries to the fascist regime in Addis Ababa, the reactionaries propagated the «Both the Russians and their socialism were suspended». These people erroneously consider socialism as an asset of the Russians. They also blame Socialism to the crimes committed by the Soviet Union against the liberation movements which is also a crime against socialism.

In order to satisfy the people and provide them a comprehensive outlook of the situation an orientation programme was carried out in the headquarter of the SRSP explaining the essence and philosophy behind the speeches of the secretary general mentioned above.

To implement this programme, conferences were held on the first weeks of December in the 14 districts of the Banadir Region and their respective vil-



lages in which all residents participated. The first phase of these conferences which was district level was participated by members of the Central Committee of the SRSP. The second phase, the village level was further explained by the functionaries of the party bureaux.

These speeches and conferences manifested the long objectives behind the speeches of the secretary General and moulded the people with revolutionary vigilance to be aware of the cheap propaganda propagated by the reactionaries and anti-revolutionary elements. Special consideration was given to the issues vaguely explained by the reactionaries concerning the Somali people and the strained relations between Somalia and the Soviet Union.

The people were reminded the history of the Abyssinian colonisation and their occupation of these territories as told by Jaalle Siyad: this portrays the true nature of the wars raging in the Horn of Africa. This is a war of liberation waged by peoples who have been for long under the Abyssinian colonial subjugation. Somalia is following the path of its policy in which it declared on the eve of the revolution and a task of the socialist doctrine the material and moral support of the peoples struggling for their freedom.

Also, in these conferences were explained, the reasons which brought the 13th November decisions to break the diplomatic relations between Somalia and Cuba and the abrogation of the friendship Treaty between Somalia and the Soviet Union, the evacuation of the Soviet experts and the abolishing of their military facilities. It was further discussed that the

reasons that prompted these decisions were the full support of these States to the Abyssinian colonialists to subdue the just struggle of the peoples struggling for their freedom, including the Somali people in the Abyssinian occupied territories and the participation of these States in an outright aggression aimed to invade the Somali Democratic Republic. As mentioned earlier by the Secretary General, although the Soviet Union did not declare openly yet they practically abrogated the friendship Treaty before.

The Somali people were also

explained, reminding the directives of the president, the false propaganda which said that socialism belonged to the Soviet Union and vanished after them. It was further explained that socialism is not a property of some people but is a universal doctrine that can be applied by any one who wants to build a new and sound Society on the basis of the general theories laid by Marx, Engels and Lenin and considering the particular features and conditions of every country. Somalia has taken socialism for the welfare of its people and will continue to do so without any imposition.

## Activities of Party Organisations in the Districts:

### A) EL - WAQ

Like other districts of the country, El-waq district contains 10 cells and 3 divisions of the SRSP which fulfills the tasks of the party in that district.

After the establishment of the party committee in the district meetings were held to plan for projects which were to continue over a long period. Generally, this plan emphasised two main points:

1. To increase production
2. To raise the political consciousness of the people in general and in particular the party members and functionaries. The main points of this plan conducted by the party committee in El-waq district bears:

- a) To organize seminars for the members of the social organisations, each lasted for a period of 45 days so as to develop their political consciousness.
- b) To arrange general inspection once every month to the villages of the district cooperatives and all centres of production.
- c) To supervise the economic activities of the district:

d) To enhance, the establishment and implementation of the cooperatives with especial consideration to the particular features of that district.

This was the plan set forth by the party committee of El-waq district to fulfill their responsibility and carry out the social development in general. Also, following the directives of the Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Siyad, which concerned the education of Party members, various seminars and training are conducted. Among these are:-

1. 30 days Seminar opened on Nov. 1976 for learning the statute and programme of the S.R.S.P
2. 15 days seminar opened on Jan. 1977, which concerned methods of administering party affairs and related tasks.

Apart from these Seminars, permanent Education was arranged for the party members to increase their general knowledge. This was mainly catered into elementary and intermediate Education.

## B) LUQ – GANAANE

September 1976 will remain a historical day at Luq-Ganane district. On that day, it was for the first time introduced in the district, a branch of the party of the new type (SRSP). Like in all other districts in the Republic, preparations and inspection tour were made before the establishment of the SRSP branch in the district. The historical date mentioned above, was the day in which it was officially announced the formation of the committees of the SRSP at Luq-Ganane district and handed over their responsibilities.

The next step to be taken was the establishment of the divisions and cells of the party at working places and other productive sectors, and at the residential quarters of the towns and villages of the district. There are 6 cells and 4 Divisions at Luq district. As it is known the cells and divisions are the foundation of fulfilling the tasks of the party of the new type. Following the establishment of the SRSP, the reorganization of the social organizations, which are the forces supporting the party and they are the link between the masses and the vanguard party.

After the establishment of the S.R.S.P; branch at Luq, the statute and the programme of the party was introduced. All efforts were made to make sure that the party members and cells understand the way to implement the statute and the programme of the party. In order to achieve this, seminars, debate and discussions were opened to the party members of the district.

A Permanent education programme which had two aims was opened to all the members

of the party cells; on one hand it was aiming at raising their level of political consciousness and on the other hand it was to raise general education of the members. In the same way it was done to raise the level of consciousness of the social organizations. This facilitated for the committees of the S.R.S.P at Luq the fulfillment of their revolutionary tasks.

The tasks of the committees were not confined to the political issues mentioned above, but the district party committee had worked to the most of their ability in fulfilling all their responsibilities. They have done a lot in taking care of the economy of the district and encouraging production.

Following the decisions of the 3rd session of the CC of the

SRSP and the directives of the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers, the district party committee has drawn up a district programme in order to implement the decision which is calling for: An increase in production and in the general development of the economy of the country in order to reach self-sufficiency.

A Programme was set up to mobilize the farmers in making them understand the decision of the 3rd session of the CC of the SRSP by encouraging them to increase production.

A Farm jointly owned by all the social organizations (workers, youth and women) was introduced so that it can serve as model to the farmers of the district.

## Activities of the Working Youth

The Somali youth have proved their dedication and potentiality in numerous nation building activities. Organisations, researches and plans are the pre-requisite to the success in their accomplishments.

Recently, the organisation of a Central Committee for the Somali Revolutionary youth union has been successfully established. Hence every department of the Union commenced to lay down job oriented plans as to mobilize the members of the youth union towards the required duties.

All such actions were collec-

tively performed and due importance was given to the right of every youth member in decision-making and in being oriented to every new development. Accordingly, on 11th December 1977 a meeting was held at the head-quarters of the SRYU in which the Chairman of the SRYU, the Executive Committee and all the members of the working youth in Banadir region have participated.

This meeting marked the completion of the afore-mentioned - several week-assignments; concerning the membership rights and the organizations of

Committees for the working youth.

First, the secretary of the working youth department and co-operatives presented the job-oriented plan that was projected for the working youth in this new year. Also, he called out the Comrades elected as the secretariat for the working youth. More-over, the organizational frame-work of the six-unions comprising the working youth, the Comrades elected for chairmen and vice - Chairmen was declared in that meeting.

a detailed speech was delivered by the Chairman of the SRYU,

Jaalle Mohamed Warsame, a member of the Central Committee of the SRSP. In his speech the Chairman of the SRYU reflected the long struggle of the Somali Youth, then pointed out the required role to satisfy the needs of the present conditions of the Somali nation. He continued emphasizing the urgent requirements under such conditions and urged the youth to bear the burden laid on their shoulders.

As a result of these new organizational establishment the youth got involved in extra-projected activities in Dec., 1977. The main two were waged to

struggle against natural catastrophe that would otherwise resulted unmeasurable disaster to many citizens of Banadir region. One of these was caused by heavy rains that destroyed the dwellings of many people and endangered their lives. Fortunately, the voluntary help of the youth deserve unchallengable gratitude in the collective rescuing of the lives of these people. The other was caused by sand - dunes that approached the buildings of Hamar-Jabjab district. Here also a collective campaign was waged to stop the extension of the sand-dunes and the hand offered by the youth had great significance.

## New Steps taken by the Trade Unions of the Banadir Region

The first congress held by the Trade Union of the Banadir region took place on December 12, 1977 at the Headquarters of the union in Mogadishu.

This was preceded by district level meetings held in all the districts of the Banadir region on 2nd December, 1977. In this meeting the District trade union discussed, the tasks fulfilled, those which were not fulfilled and the reason for their short comings.

This was followed by the regional congress which was participated by the trade unions of the 14 districts, executive committee of the regional trade union and comrades who were member of the secretariat of the GFS-TU. Also the meeting was participated by delegates representing youth and women organisations of the region, who gave full support and encouraged their brother workers.

During the congress the re-

volutionary pioneers from Waberi, Hawlwadaag, Shibis, Yaashid and Daynile districts, together made revolutionary performance and entertainments. This was an expression of the mutual cooperation between the Somali Revolutionary Youth and GFSTU.

The agenda of the congress was to study in depth the tasks fulfilled since the foundation of the union and to draw the new year programme for the trade union of the Banadir region. This new programme passed during the congress emphasised to give different types of training to the members of the workers of the Banadir region; this programme will facilitate the worker to play a significant role in developing the society. The training programme was as follows:

— 480 regional workers to be trained as teachers, they will

participate in the implementation of the programme of the literacy campaign which is in full swing in the district of the Banadir region. The organization of the programme is directed by the Ministry of Education.

— 200 persons to be trained as red-cross cadres for participation in the preventing of the Communicative diseases and the organization had been consulting the Ministry of Health.

— Members of the quarters committees which numbered 201 are to be trained to study the special results dealing with the liquidation of the black market. The organisation had been consulting the custom duty department of the police force.

— 60 persons are to be trained as traffic policemen in order to perform this task during demonstration and other occasions. The organization had been consulting the traffic department of the police force.

— 42 persons are to be trained in office management in order to get skilled orders in the union officers, who can manage its affairs. The organization had been consulting SIDAM in managing this programme.

In the same occasion, 400 comrades who showed political consciousness, and were among workers who demonstrated diligence were awarded testimonials.

workers committees established in the villages

Before its establishments, the General Federation of the Somali Trade Union (GFSTU) was at district level. However at the middle of December, Workers committee of quarters level were established in all quarters of the Banadir Region districts; where by 1060 comrades became members.

A seminar which lasted for days was opened to the members of the new committee. The seminar dealt with the programme and the statute of the GFSTU and the party leadership of the social organizations. During the seminar, for the first time introduced to the new policy concerning comradely cooperation of the residential trade union.

All the near by districts of the Banadir region were joined together and had seminar at one of the centres.

Hamar-Jabjab, Wabere, Hamar weyne and Wadajir district were joined together and had their seminar at Hamar Jabjab orientation centre.

Abdulaziz, Karan and Shangani were joined and they had their seminar at Abdulaziz Orientation

centre. Bondhere Yaqshid and Shibs were joined together and they had their seminar at Bondhere Orientation Centre.

H/Wadaag, Hodan, Wabere and Daynile districts were joined together and they had their seminar at H/Wadag Orientation

## G.F.S.T.U and the Arab Trade Unions:-

On the 19th Dec. 77 a delegation led by Jaalle Mohamud Ali Ahmed, Chairman of the G.F.S.T.U and member of the CC of the SRSP arrived here, after paying a friendly visit to Iraq in early December. The delegation was invited by the Iraq Trade Unions. During their stay in Iraq the heads of the delegation signed friendly agreements with the leaders of the Iraq trade Unions.

The core of this bilateral agreement commensurate that the Trade Unions of both sides exchange friendly and official visits.

Both sides agreed:- To cooperate in the information and written documents.

— To exchange invitations during the celebrations and conferences;

— To send Somali workers for training to Iraq

— The Iraq Trade Unions should assist the G.F.S.T.U. in implementing the establishment of workers institute in Somalia.

Also a delegation led by Jaalle Abdullahi Mohamed Mire 1st Vice - Chairman of the G.F.S.T.U. visited Damascus, the the Capital of Syria to participate in a conference concern-

ing the governmental relations that started on the 22nd December for the Arab Trade Unions

The Conference was supposed to discuss the administration and in general the interests of the Arab Trade Unions.

The Delegation was escorted on their departure, in the Mogadishu airport, by Jaalle Mohamud Ali Ahmed, Chairman of the G.F.S.T.U. and member of CC of the SRSP, Jaalle Abdullahi Mohamed Sheegow — 2nd Vice - Chairman of the G.F.S.T.U. and members of the executive committee of the Union.

On 20th Dec. 77 a delegation representing the General Federation of the Egyptian Trade Unions arrived in Mogadishu. The delegation was composed of Mohamed Mohamud Abdirahim member of the Executive Committee of the G F E T U and Jaalle Abas Mohamed Mahamud Chairman of Trade Union for Minerals. During their stay in Somalia the delegation held talks with the heads of the G.F.S.T.U. concerning the relation cooperation and Unity of the Arab Trade Unions. These talks ended in a friendly atmosphere.

## The Establishment Of the Mozambique Youth Union

The first congress for the establishment of the Mozambique Youth Union was held at Map-

uto from 30th November to December 5, 1977.

The Congress was participa-

ted by different mass organisations and the youth organisations of the Progressive countries; including the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union.

In order to render the Congress successful, different seminars and meetings were arranged earlier for the preparation of the establishment of the Mozambique youth union. The youth and all the progressive forces in Mozambique played a significant role in establishing the Mozambique youth union. Finally, they implemented the first congress of the foundation of the Mozambique youth union. During the Congress the programme and the statute were drawn and the executive committee elected.

This is among the victories achieved by the youth and the people of Mozambique who are guided by FRELIMO after a long armed struggle waged against colonialism.

After gaining their political independence, the people of Mozambique continued their historical struggle in order to heal the wounds inflicted by the colonialists during the 500 (five hundred) years of occupation in that country. In their struggle they are looking forward to be free economically and socially. The people of Mozambique continue their struggle by using the slogan «A Lutta continua...»

FRELIMO lead the people of Mozambique in their long struggle against colonialism. In its third congress, decision was passed that FRELIMO will be a party guided by the principles of (Marxism-Leninism), so that they can overcome underdevelopment and build a society free from exploitation.

Mozambique, being an Agro-industrial country, can quickly reach progress if the progressive forces hold the leadership and adopt socialism.

By putting this into practice it was inevitable to establish workers, youth, women and intellectual organizations so that they can fulfill their tasks in building the nation.

Thus, in carrying out its internal and external duties, the Somali Revolutionary youth union maintained close cooperation and harmony with the progressive forces of the world with the objective of exchanging experiences gained by the

the peoples in their struggle for gaining full independence.

This resulted in a high regard to be attached to active role of the Somali Youth who have contributed towards nation building tasks, since the birth of the revolution. Among the tangible achievements of the Somali youth were: the implementation of the rural development campaign, the resettlement programme and the sand-dune stabilization campaign.

The Somali and Mozambique youths, both have waged armed struggle in the attainment of their independence and they will never give up their efforts to continue this struggle until they achieve full independence.

## The Editorial Board of HALGAN Extend Their Comradely Greetings to The Founding Congress of The Somali Cooperative Movement



## World Affairs

# The Issue of Western Somalia and The Principle of Territorial Integrity Sanctioned in the OAU Charter

By Aboud M. Aboud

Before entering into the heart of the issue itself, it is advisable to give the main historical outlines of the question in order to enlighten the origin of western Somalia's Problem.

It is a well known fact that at the end of the 19th century the European Countries Partitioned Africa among themselves. Somalia was the African country which most resented the consequence of such partition. The Somali people, who is highly homogeneous, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, sharing common culture and customs, saw themselves for the first time divided and submitted to three Colonial powers, namely Britain, France and Italy. These Powers intentionally traced artificial boundaries to their dominions, which were better to serve colonial purposes and interests.

Ethiopia was at that time one of the very few independent African States and to satisfy her expansionist ambition, she occupied, on a footing of equality with the colonial powers, a portion of the Somali territories.

Mr. Bevin, serving as British Foreign Secretary, declared in the House of Commons in 1946: «In the latter part of the century, the Horn of Africa was divided between Great Britain, France and Italy. At about the time we occupied our part, the Ethiopians occupied an inland area which is

grazing ground for nearly half the nomads of British Somaliland».

In 1954 Ethiopia occupied the remaining portion of Western Somalia (Reserved Area and Ogaden) by virtue of the British Ethiopian treaty of 1954. While the other parts of the Somali territory have gained freedom from the colonial powers, Ethiopia is still occupying Western Somalia and denying the population the right of self-determination.

Somali population living in that area has no common feature with the Ethiopian people. Miss Perham writes on this subject: «There is, indeed, every contrast, human and physical, to divide these regions. The religious difference has only served to accentuate all the other differences which have always hindered Ethiopia's attempts to make these surrounding lands her own. They are not only held by Islam against her Christianity, they are also lowlands to her mountains». Perham, the government of Ethiopia, 1948.

2. The O.A.U. (Organization of African Unity) is an organization with a regional basis, which came into being by virtue of the Addis Ababa agreement of 23rd May 1963.

Article 3 of the O.A.U. Charter solemnly affirms the principle African Unity, to which the O.A.U. member states pledge themselves to adhere. In particular, No. 3 reads as follows:

«Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independent existence.»

The issue of territorial integrity was raised also by the Assembly of Heads of states and Governments in its ordinary session held in Cairo from 17th to 21st July 1964 which adopted the following resolution: «Considering that border problems constitute a grave and permanent factor of dissension. Conscious of the existence of extra-African manoeuvres aiming at dividing African states.

Considering further that the borders of African states on the day of their independence constitute a tangible reality, Recalling the establishment in the course of the second ordinary session of the council of the Committee of Eleven charged with studying further measures for strengthening African Unity.

»Recognizing the imperious necessity of settling by peaceful means and with in a strictly African framework, all disputes between African States.

Recalling further that all Member States have pledged themselves, under Art. 6 of the Charter of African Unity, to respect scrupulously all principles laid down in paragraph 3 of Article 3 of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

1. Solemnly reaffirms the strict respect of all member states



of the Organization for principles laid down in paragraph 3 of Article 3 of the Charter of the O.A.U.

**2. «SOLEMNLY DECLARES THAT ALL MEMBERS STATES PLEDGE THEMSELVES TO RESPECT THE BORDERS EXISTING ON THEIR ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE».**

3. On the ground of the above, we shall now try to make a juridical analysis of the issue, i.e to see whether the principle of respect of the territorial integrity, mentioned in Art. 3 of the O.A.U Charter, and reaffirmed in Resolution No. 16 (1) may be applied in respect of Western Somalia.

First of all, it is to be stressed that the above mentioned principles is included in a «corpus» of provisions contained in the Charter of the O.A.U. The Charter by which the O.A.U. came into being has the value of an International Agreement stipulated by the signatory States. Because of the general establishing that an agreement produces its effects only for the agreeing parties, the rights and obligations established in the dispositions of the Charter produce their effects only in the juridical sphere of the Member States. The population of Western Somalia is a third part as far as the signatory States are concerned, and consequently it cannot be bound by any disposition of the O.A.U. Charter. The principle in respect of territorial integrity cannot therefore be applied in respect of the population of Western Somalia.

Ethiopia insists to consider the Somalia State as the only interested party in the issue and tries to spread the nation of «Somali expansionist ambitions for a greater Somalia.» By doing this, Ethiopia is trying (1) to turn the issue to a simple matter of boundary dispute between two member States of the O.A.U. Thus being able to recall Somalia to the respect due,

as a signatory State, to the principle of the O.A.U. Charter; and (2) to divert the world's attention from the reality of the facts, that there is alien population under its rule which is denied the right of self-determination.

The conclusions reached above are also valid as far as the O.A.U Resolution No. 16 (1) is concerned. This Resolution was taken solemnly in order to make concrete and tangible what had already been expressed by Art. 3 of the O.A.U. Charter. It does not therefore add any new elements to the question.

We shall now try to examine the following issue:

«Can Ethiopia, from the legal point of view, ask that its territorial integrity be respected?».

In order to give an exhaustive answer, it is necessary, first of all, to establish on which title, if any Ethiopia found its claim on Western Somalia.

The two possible ways for Ethiopia to justify her occupation of Western Somalia are:

- 1) To claim that territory as being part of Ethiopia from time immemorial; or
- 2) To claim that Ethiopia's present boundaries have been determined by international treaties.

History shows beyond any possible doubt that before the partition of Africa, the Abyssinian State did not include the territory of Western Somalia.

«Up to about 1880 the Southern most projection of Abyssinian power was not much more than a hundred miles from Addis - Aba-

«But it was the large quantities of modern firearms that were imported from France and Italy that gave the King of Shoa, later to expand his territories. (Perham, the gov't of Ethiopia, P. 293-4).

Miss Perham also considers that: «It was the new challenge brought by European Powers to Africa and their conception of administrative control within fixed frontiers, which stimulated Menelik to crave out his own empire. Especially after his defeat of the Italians, at Adowa in 1896. He turned his victorious generals to the tasks, which he had begun earlier of pushing out the Ethiopian frontiers to the South and East before European competitors could anticipate him. (Perham, op. cit, p. 61).

Mr. Smith, A.D. on his travel 100 miles North of Lake Rudolf in 1995 met people called «Mela» who had never heard of the word Kaffa nor of the existence of Abyssinians. He concludes «I do not think that Kaffa extends very far South of Abyssinia, or that Abyssinians inhabit the country much below Bonga». (Smith, A.D. through unknown African countries, 1897, P. 319).

From the quoted passages it results clearly how weak and groundless is the thesis that Ethiopia had possessed these territories from time immemorial, although Menelik, doing violence to history, speaks of «the ancient frontiers».

Nor can it be accepted that Ethiopia's frontiers (as far as Western Somalia is concerned) have been determined by international treaties.

The treaties by which Ethiopia was ceded territories by the Colonial Powers have no juridical effect because Great Britain and Italy, being Protecting States, lacked the capacity (sovereignty) to cede the dispute territories, in accordance with the principle: *Nemo plus juris in alium transferre potest quam ipse habet*.

Even if Ethiopian title were acquired by the 1897 and 1908 treaties, that title was never followed by effective occupation and, addi-

tionally, it cannot meet the requirement of contemporary international law that it should be consistent with the right of self-determination of the peoples of the concerned area, which under the United Nations Charter Ethiopia is bound to respect.

It appears clearly from the above observations how Ethiopia's justifications for her continued occupation of Western Somalia are inconsistent and groundless. Lacking any juridical title, Ethiopia's possession of these territories ap-

pears as a mere illegal occupation.

Consequently, Ethiopia cannot invoke the respect of the principle of territorial integrity with regard to a territory (Western Somalia) on which she has no legal title.



# The Inevitability of The Destruction of Racism

By: BOBE



Innumerable black leaders die in prison cells at the hands of the Vorster regime or remain chained for years inside prisons such as those in Robben Island under unthinkable humiliating and harsh conditions. Steven Biko was not the first black leader to be victimized by the police of the South African-racist minority regime and will surely be not the last to die in such a manner during this period when minority white domination in South Africa is being challenged by the majority blacks.

The fiercest struggle in the world is now in progress in South Africa. With the attainment of independence by the former Portuguese colonies, the curtain that had for long protected the illegal regimes of Vorster and Ian Smith had faded away into the thin air. Since then, the struggle for independence in this part of the world gathered further momentum and we at pre-

sent witness new developments in the region. Among many others, these developments are the result of:

1. The Progressive forces of the world and in particular those of Africa which gained greater strength after the independence of the territories formerly colonized by Portugal out of the former Portuguese territories emerged progressive governments which exert considerable efforts to liberate Zimbabwe and South Africa.

2. The Western countries have realized the inevitability of the downfall of the minority white regimes and are thus making efforts to change their policy towards the region. They are endeavouring to establish black puppet government in the region so as to safeguard their monopolistic interests and guarantee the security of the minority white population.

3. The level of consciousness of the colonized majority was raised to a very high level — the struggle against the minority regimes awakened the masses.

4. To most of the world, racism now appears to be unacceptable, its destruction of which is inevitable.

Since the student's uprising in Soweto on the 16th June 1976, murder, imprisonment and deportation became the sole tools employed by Vorster to cope with the situation. This year alone, 22 black political prisoners died in prisons on injuries at the hands of the brutal Vorster regime. The «Black consciousness» leader, Steven Biko who was 30, and died of fatal brain damages in prison was among them.

Biko's black consciousness movement was the force behind the student's uprising in Soweto. He was their ideologist and was one of the first black leaders to be detained without trial soon after, the uprising.

In the 1960's, Biko headed the South African black University student's Association and later founded the South African Student's Organization which did not limit black consciousness to the students but instead to all blacks. For Biko

Black consciousness was not racism, but the resurrection of Black identity in a society that denies it. Biko's South African students organisations made possible for the convocation of 70 black organisations of which to the day he died he remained its honorary President.

Biko was arrested in a prison at Port Elizabeth, 800 Km. from Pretoria. In an effort to get information related to the black consciousness movement and its leaders from him, the police brutally tortured Biko three weeks later thereby inflicting fatal injuries on his head. He was totally neglected by the police and denied of any access to the prison doctors.

While in a very serious condition, Steven Biko naked was at midnight thrown into the back of a landrover and driven through 750 miles to Pretoria where he died next day on the 21st of September. He was buried in his hometown, King William, and his funeral was attended by 20,000 persons.

From abroad criticisms poured to South Africa. Inside the country black organisations and newspapers rose in rage condemning the oppressive and racist policies of the Vorster regime. With the sole purpose of cheating world public opinion, the Vorster regime ordered for an inquest into the prison death of Steven Biko. The inquest was conducted by a court for three weeks. A magistrate then announced that Biko died of brain damage inflicted while he was fighting with the Police. The verdict caused no shock to either the blacks in South Africa or peoples struggling for equality, for they were aware that a fair judgement would never be made by the racist minority Vorster regime.

The murder of Biko caused demonstrations which were staged both inside and outside the country. These demonstrations forcefully shook the roots of racism. In retaliation, the Pretoria regime arrested 60 black leaders, banned

19 black organisations and closed down two newspapers; both endowed for exposing the evils of apartheid.

The minority regime in South Africa realized the determination of the black people to break the chains of colonialism. For this reason elections had been held at an earlier date so that the Vorster regime may perpetuate its evil policies.

But the Pretoria regime could not arrest the liberation struggle in South Africa through such acts as murder, imprisonment and banning organisations opposed to racist policies. Oppressions subjected to the black population only prepares them to wage an armed struggle against the racist Vorster regime. And the evil policies of establishing the so-called Transkei, Bantustan etc «homelands» can not be a solution to the black peoples rejection of colonialism and racism.

**Comrades;**  
**Dont Miss Your English**  
**Issue of Halgan Every**  
**Month**



## MONTHLY BULLETIN

# SIAD MEETS RATSIRAKA



The President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre and a high level delegation, including members of the central committee of the SRSP paid a one-day official visit to the Malagasy Republic late December.

The Visit was the result of an invitation extended to Jaalle Si-

ad by the President of the Malagasy Republic, Mr. Didier Ratsiraka.

The two presidents discussed the situation in the Horn of Africa, bilateral relations and other international issues.

President Siad speaking to newsmen disclosed that in a private talk with the President of the Malagasy Republic, Mr. Ratsiraka, on the peaceful settlement of the problems prevailing in the Horn of Africa. He outlined the means of making the restoration of peace a possible reality, in view of foreign intervention and the seeming absence of an African solution by the African heads of state to remedy the situation.

The Secretary General of the SRSP said that he presented the SDR proposal to President Didier Ratsiraka and declared that Somalia fully supports an African solution to the current problem in the Horn.

«We are not opposing any just solution which is in the interest of the peoples concerned» he said.

## Medical Students Graduate

The first group of medical students numbering 17 graduates from the Medical College of National University at Mid-December since the establishment of the College in 1973. The new doctors are also the first group to study medicine locally. President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre attended the graduation ceremony and presented certificates to the medical students.

The President spoke on the occasion and thanked the College staff, professors and the Italian Government who have made it possible the establish-

ment of the Medical College. He expressed his personal appreciation for the role they have played in the realization of the Revolution's objectives of establishing a local University. «It looked absurd to some people to establish a University here but what we already see is its fruits», he said. The President pointed out that no nation was born endowed with all educational facilities and technology and added that every nation has undergone through hardships in educating its people. He also spoke at length on the successes achieved by students

who have graduated from the local colleges and the problems that were always encountered by students who had their university education abroad.

«Our main objective of establishing the university in Somalia was not only to create enlightened graduates but also to create patriotic students who could lead this country according to its best interests» he stressed.

The President also spoke on the present situation of the country and the role the graduated medical students are ex-

pected to play. On socialism, he said that it is a socio-economic system which can be used for the development of a country, adding that was precisely why we have opted for it. The Sec-

always supported and will continue to support National Liberation Movements in Africa Asia and will oppose colonialism in all its forms. Colonialists never understand their sin-

reached as to the rights of the colonized peoples to regain their lost freedom». On the Somali-Kenya relations, Jaalle Siad that the SDR believes in brotherly and African solution



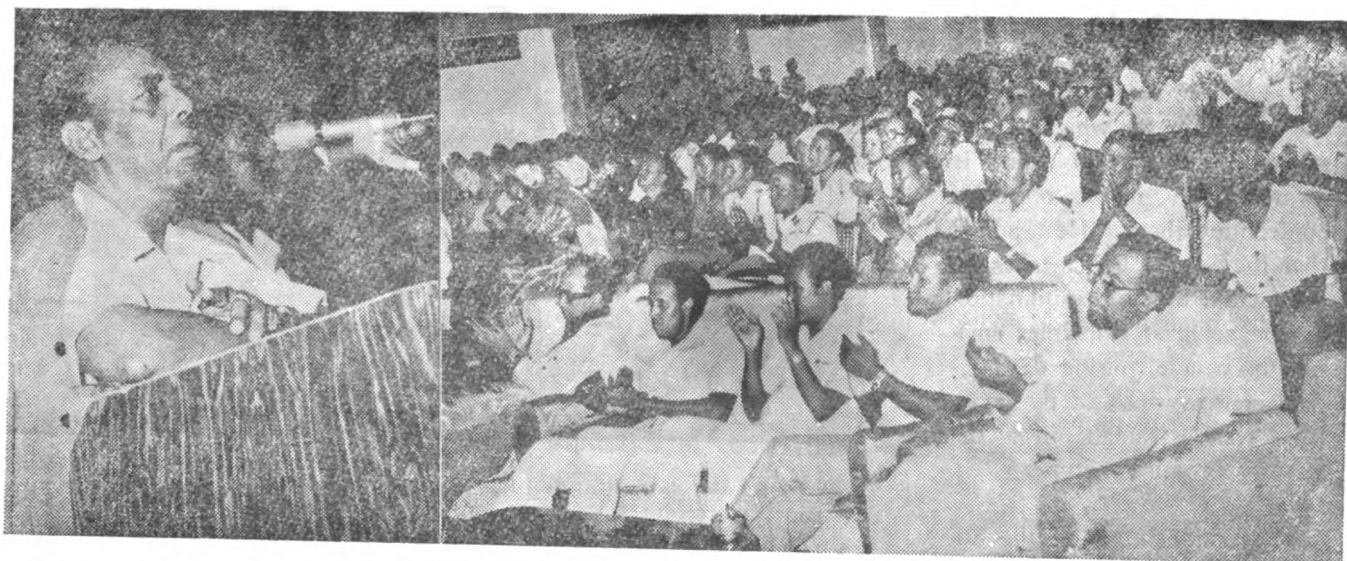
retary General of the SRSP described those who confused the socialist ideology as short-sighted and said that it was a system which any nation could adopt, according to its culture, traditions and peculiar characteristics. He declared that the SDR

ister actions until the colonized people rise and fight them». He continued adding that the current armed struggle in Abyssinian Colonised Somali and Eritrean territories started when a peaceful solution of the problems could not be

for the problem between the two countries.

In Conclusion Jaalle Siad called upon the Somali people to be vigilant in order to defend their sovereignty and to develop their country.

## 34th Anniversary of the Somali Police Force



The celebrations of the foundation of the Somali Police Force falls on the 20th of Decem-

ber annually. The ceremony marking the 34th Anniversary of the foundation of the police

Force was participated this year by the Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the SDR



Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare at the Police Academy in Mogadishu.

Present in the ceremony was the Vice-President of the SDR Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah and Brig. General Ismael Ali Abokor, Members of the CC of the SRSP, high-ranking officials of the party, officers of the armed forces and members of the social organisations. The ceremony was marked by shows and sketches performed by the Police and Army bands depicting the long struggles of the Liberation Fronts.

In a speech on the occasion President Siad congratulated the Somali Police Force and their families on behalf of the party and government and wished them victory for the defence and safeguarding of the security of the nation. «Since its foundation in 1943, the Somali Police has passed through various stages and have played a significant role in the struggles of the Somali People for their independence» he said. «It is beyond any doubt that the tasks done by the Somali Police Force have earned a golden page in the history of the nation», stressed the President. Jaalle Siad declared that the police force is a true patriot translating the objectives for which we are struggling into reality and is aware of the many obstacles confronting them. He added that the Somali Police takes an active role in the dissemination of the socialist principles among the people, raising the political consciousness of the people as well as safeguarding the security of public property.

The Commandant of the Somali Police Force Jaalle Brig. General Abdillahi M. Lamud Hassan, member of the Central Committee of the SRSP, who

spoke on the occasion said; «the Somali Police Force at 34 has played a significant role in the nation-building tasks, maintaining security and safeguarding justice». Jaalle Abdillahi emphasized that the police force has

fulfilled its national obligation in all spheres, adding that the Somali People's force in safeguarding security and national sovereignty, spare no efforts in cooperating with the police to carry out their duties.

## S.D.R. STATEMENT ON MIDDLE EAST

A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Somali Democratic Republic issued on 14th December a statement calling on the Arab States to unify their ranks so as to overcome existing and future problems. The Spokesman said that the relations among Arab states have deteriorated to alarming levels which pose danger to their solidarity and strength. The Arab people needs all the solidarity and unity to tackle the many difficulties affecting its very existences and interests, the spokesman declared. He pointed out the need for restraint

in the face of disagreement over issues, adding that without such restraint and patience, grave consequences, which might seriously affect the Arab peoples aspirations for regaining their legitimate rights for the liberation of their occupied territories are bound to occur.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman declared that the SDR calls on sister Arab States to exercise patience and to bury their differences over the current disagreement since it would only benefit the enemy and harm Arab interests.

## KULMIE TOURS WESTERN EUROPE



A high-level delegation led by Vice-President of the SDR and Assistant to the President, Brig. General Abdillahi M. Lamud Hassan, member of the Central Committee of the SRSP, who

to several western European countries early this month.

Jaalle Kulmie's trip took to him to London, Paris, Bonn and Rome where he held talks with the leaders of these countries



respectively, and also delivered messages from the Somali Democratic Republic's President Mahamed Siyad Barre to the leaders of the countries he and his delegation visited.

Jaalle Kulmie's delegation included the Somali Democratic Republic Foreign Minister Jaalle Abdirahman Jama Barre and the Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Jaalle Mohamed Habib Ahamed.

Briefing Newsmen upon his return to Somalia Jaalle Kulmie said that his talks with James Callaghan, Valery Giscard d'Estaing, Helmut Schmidt and Julio Andarcota, the Leaders of Britain, France, Federal Republic of Germany and Italy respectively were crowned with success. Adding that his talks with those Western European countries were concerned with the strengthening of relations and coopera-

tion in the economic field between the Somali Democratic Republic and those countries.

Jaalle Kulmie and his delegation were given a warm welcome on the 7th of December at the Airport in Mogadishu by the Vice-President and Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP, Jaalle Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokar, Party Bureau Chairmen Ministers and other highranking officials.

## ===== New Finance Minister Appointed =====



Jaalle Mohamed Yusuf Wajirah was appointed as the Minister of Finance in a recent session of the Politbureau, and later sworn in front of the President of the Somali Democratic

Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Said Barre.

Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Said Barre.

In a short speech on the occasion, the President wished him success in carrying out this difficult assignment.

«You have been entrusted with this new responsibility with the objective that you will truly serve your nation and I hope that you will surmount all difficulties you face in the process of carrying out your obligations» said the President.

## ===== STEVE BIKO =====

The Blood of the victims of the racist regime of terror in Soweto, had not yet dried on the streets of that Johannesburg township, which has lately been the epicentre of African protest actions against apartheid, when the news came of the death in prison of the leader of the South African Black consciousness movement, Peter Dlamini, president of the Black people's convention and student leader Steve Biko.

Biko, 30, had been arrested on August 18 near Grahamstown in Eastern Cape District under the notorious terrorism Act, which qualifies as «terrorism» every expression of opposition to the policy of apartheid. He was detained in Port Elizabeth without trial. On September 11, he was transferred to Pretoria's Central Prison: 750 miles to the North, the next day he was found dead in his cell. Steve Biko helped to find the

South Africans «Black consciousness Movement» and led the opposition to apartheid.

Black political prisoners often die in South African prisons at least 21 have died during the past 18 months. Biko's death looked particularly suspicious: the racist regime at first blamed it on the effects of a six-day hunger strike, but the 200-LB, 6ft. 2in. Biko had seemed too healthy to have succumbed to malnutrition so quickly.

The latest victim of the Voster clique was a moderate who did not recognize violent methods of combating apartheid and whom even many representatives of the white minority regarded as a man they could deal with. But this did not deter the South African political police. The circumstances of Biko's death have carefully been concealed. After an autopsy showed that Biko had suffered serious head injuries, the scheduled proceedings into his case attracted wide attention, but it was surprising that Judge M. Prins, president over the public inquiry into the case announced «No one can be held responsible for the death in prison of black consciousness leader Steve Biko.»

Immediately after the Verdict, several hundred Africans gathered outside the former pretoria Synagogue where the inquiry has been held, gave clenched fist salutes and chanted «They have killed Steve Biko» and «What have we done? our sin that we are black.» A large force of police equipped with dogs stood by. Judge Prins' announcement came as African nationalist sources disclosed that Mr. Biko's brother Kaya Biko was arrested in Johannesburg's Soweto township. Mr. Biko's cousin Solomon Biko and several people associated with the dead man were also arrested; they included former members of the black peoples convention, the movement Biko founded and which was dissolved by the racist regime recently.

Legal council representing the family of the late Biko, accused South African police authorities of having covered up the truth when testifying to a court of inquiry probing Biko's prison death on September 12. The Charge was made by Sydney Kentridge on 14th day of the proceedings.

The Biko family lawyer pointed out that as presented by expert pathologist witnesses had made it clear that Biko had died as the result of at least three injuries to his brain. The injuries to his kidneys and other symptoms were directly attributable to the brain injuries, Kentridge said.

The African press has recalled a great many instances of African prisoners who were of-

ficially reported to have thrown themselves out of windows of police stations or broken their necks by slipping on a piece of soap in the prison shower room, or died in some other equally incredible way. The Press also points to the death some years ago of the banished South African liberation leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner Albert Luthuli, who was over by a train «in a mysterious circumstances».

## CHINESE PRESSMEN WOUND - UP A TOUR



Chinese journalists led by the Deputy — Director of the Central Broadcasting Bureau, Wang-Shou-Jen concluded a one week visit to the SDR on 21st December. During their stay they held meetings with Party and Government officials. They also held talks with Central committee of the Somali Journalist Association (SOJA).

A reception was given to the visiting Chinese journalists by the Minister of Information and National Guidance, Jaalle Abdikassim Salaad Hassan in his office. The Minister briefed them on the deep-rooted friendship between the SDR and China,

the progress attained by the SDR and the problems in the Horn of Africa, which he said, is caused by the interference of Russia and her lackeys, such as Cuba. Jaalle Abdikassim also briefed the Chinese journalists the reason which led the SDR to abrogate its friendship treaty with Russia and break off diplomatic relations with Cuba. The decision followed the uncovering of a plan of a joint invasion to Somalia organized by these countries with the primary objective of enabling Russia to get hold of the Red sea and the Indian Ocean and to endanger the existence of the SDR, the Minister said.

He added that the Somali people are ready at any cost to defend the sovereignty of their country.

The leader of the Chinese journalists said that the relations between the SDR and China is gaining momentum day after day. He continued to say that the peoples of the two countries have experienced the crude policy of Russia and the final victory belongs to China, Somalia and peoples struggling for their rights. Comrade Wang-Shou-Jen described the Russian socialism as fake and bas-

ically founded on seeking self-interest, adding that the Russian Government is bent on bullying and exploiting the developing countries and the peoples struggling for their freedom.

Similarly, the Chairman of the Ideology Bureau, Jaalle Mohamed Aden Shehk received at his office the visiting Chinese journalists. Jaalle Mohamed briefed them about the activities of the Party as well as HALGAN, the organ of the SRSP. The Chairman of the Ideology Bureau discussed with the Chinese newsmen about the

situation in the Horn of Africa and the friendship between the two countries and in particular the tangible contribution of the Chinese Government in the development of the SDR.

The leader of the Chinese delegation expressed their gratitude to the Somali Government and people on the warm reception accorded to them.

The members of the Chinese press circle had earlier visited Tunisia and Syria. Their next stop is scheduled to be Burundi.

## American Congress-Men Visit Somalia



Two American congressmen arrived in Mogadishu on the 17th of December on a two day visit. The congressmen, Mr Paul Tsongas and Don Bonker said on arrival that the purpose of their visit is to have a look at the situation of the Horn of Africa and expressed the concern of the United States about the Russian policy in the Horn. The US is concerned about the presence, objectives and designs of the Russians in the Horn of Africa «said Don Bonker, adding that wherever the Russians go, bloodshed and tension pre-

vails. Mr. Bonker said that it is better for the African states to oppose Russian influence and follow the step taken by the Somali Democratic Republic. The problem of the Horn of Africa is entirely an African affair and there is absolutely no vacancy for non-African countries to interfere» he said earlier in Nairobi, the congressmen expressed disgust to what they called the reign of terror in addis Ababa where they saw the dead bodies of nine persons of the 300 executed recently by the Addis ruling clique.

In a reception given by the president of the SDR Jaalle Siad and the two congressmen, discussed matters pertaining to Somali US relations and in particular the current situation in the Horn of Africa as well as other international issues.

Speaking to newsmen shortly before winding up their stay in Somalia, the Congressmen expressed their satisfaction on their talks with the President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre and other Somali officials. Mr. Don Bonker, one of the two Congressmen said that he was highly impressed by the efforts of the Somali people to develop their country. Commenting on their talks with Somali Government leaders, he said that the Somali government wants African states to co-exist peacefully which he said, is desirable for the African continent to achieve economic progress. Mr. Bonker said that Somalia, like the United States, is very much concerned about the Russian policy towards the Horn of Africa. We are deeply concerned about the Russian intervention in African Affairs, par-

ticularly the Horn «He declared The Congressmen further pointed out the dangers posed by the Russian arms air-lift to the Addis Ababa regime and the increasing Russian military pre-

sence in Ethiopia to the security of the Horn of Africa. Commenting on the human rights violation in Ethiopia, Mr Bonker expressed alarm at the deteriorating security in Addis Ab-

aba and constant gun-battle incidents in the city. He said he was very much disgusted with the human rights violation and suffering in Ethiopia.

## ERITEREAN LEADER IN SOMALIA

Al-Sayid Salah Sabi, the leader of the ELFPLF arrived on the 17th of December in Mogdishu on a visit to the Somali Democratic Republic. Mr. Sabi said his visit was part of a tour to several Arab countries to confer with their leaders on the situation in the Horn of Africa. He said that the Eritrean people have a high regard for the Somali Democratic Republic support for their struggle to regain their freedom and added that the liberation struggle of Somalis under Abyssinian colonial rule was similar to that of the Eritrean people.

Speaking on the Horn of Africa situation, he stressed that it was essential that foreign powers should stay out of the current conflict in the Horn and they should beware of supporting the colonialist Addis-Ababa rulers.

He pointed out that all progressive forces of the world should support the current struggle of the Somali Liberation Movements. Mr. Sabi also declared that the Eritrean people have achieved great successes in their struggle for independence and that they were now on the verge of total liberation. The Eritrean leader also expressed his personal appreciation of the role of Arab countries in supporting the Eritrean and Somali Liberation Fronts.

The Eritrean Liberation Fro-

nts have recently agreed to establish an independent government in the liberated areas of that country. Radio Kuwait monitored in Mogadishu said that Administrative Committees for the development of Eritrea were already set up in the liberated areas. The liberation fronts were now busy building hospitals, schools and improve communication in the liberated areas. The ELF said that the Addis Government did not have the capability to interfere in the affairs of the Eritrean government now planned to be set up. The leader of the Eritrean Liberation Fronts (ELF), fighting for their independence of Eritrea said in an interview published in Mogadishu recently that his forces had inflicted hea-

vy casualties on Addis troops South of the Provincial capital of Asmara.

Mr. Ahmed Nasir was quoted by the Khartoum daily Newspaper Al-Ayam saying his Commandos killed 730 Ethiopian soldiers and wounded 1000 in fighting in the towns of Adi Kaie, Adigrat and Senafe. The Commandos captured three tanks and large quantity of weapons when the Ethiopians attempted to break the siege of Asmara, he said. Mr Nasir also told the paper the Addis Regime was planning to divide Eritrea by joining its Southern districts with parts of the neighbouring Province of Tigre «This attempts is entirely rejected by us», the commando leader said.

## Somali Delegation to U.S.A.

The Minister of the Minerals and Water Resources, Jaalle Hussein Abdulkadir Kasim and his delegation returned to Mogadishu on the 18th of Dec. after concluding a 10 day official visit to the United States.

Talking to newsmen at his office, Jaalle Hussein told that his talks with US leaders were fruitful. He noted that their visit to the United States was in line with the SDR's policy of improving good relations with other countries of the world. Speaking on the interference of Russia and its lackeys in the af-

fairs of the Horn of Africa, he said that it was a great worry to the United States and other governments of the world.

Jaalle Husein again warned the Russians and their lackeys to refrain from the internal affairs of Africa. The massive Russian arms airlifts and shipments to Abyssinia is a great concern to developing countries and added that the Russian should correct their misguided policies in the Horn. Answering a question, the Minister described the recent Russian propaganda that the SDR

has placed its great uranium deposits in American hands as cheap and worthless propaganda.

The people of the SDR have every right of exploiting their mineral resources and in the process cooperating with any country in the world. «The Russians are not called upon to advise us as to whom we should collaborate with», Jaalle Hussein stressed. He declared that the rich mineral resources in

our sea and land were only for the Somali people and for no one else. The Russians, unable to dictate its crude policies on us and being denied to establish military basis in our territory unlike Abyssinia, have now resorted to the propagation of unfounded and worthless propaganda against the SDR, Jaal-Hussein pointed out.

On Somali relations with the outside world, he said that «we will develop the relations with

these countries economically and politically on a non-aligned policy as is declared in first, second and third charter of the revolution.

Somalia is a member of the non-aligned community and has vigorously participated in the enhancement of that policy which emphasises that every nation has the right to shape its own policies without foreign imposition», the Minister concluded.

## THE DEATH OF A PROMINENT FIGURE

The death of Brig. General Ali Mattan Hashi a C.C. Member of the SRSP was a shock to the whole Somali Nation.

On the night of 22nd Jan. 1978. the Politburo of the SRSP decided a three day mourn of the Nation for the deceased as well as the National flag to be flown half-mast starting from 23rd Jan.

Jaalle Ali Mattan Hashi was born at Hobya district, Mudug Region in 1927.

He was one of the founders of the Somali 21st October Revolution of 1969.

The deceased was a Central Committee of the SRSP at the time of his death.

He left a wife and 8 children.

The Chairman of the Ideology Buro, the Vice-Chairman, the Editorial Board of Halgan and all other staff of the Ideology Buro convey their deep condolence to the Somali people.

May his soul rest at peace.





## Theoretical Issues



# THE PREPARATION OF CADRES

By Y. Sh. Muse

The preparation of cadres is a significant step in fulfilling the tasks of the leadership role of the party. The intensive education and preparation of cadres is an important part in the process of developing the socio-political structure of the society, and enhancing the leading role of science, in particular, necessary for the proper guidance of the party and government work and, in general, for setting up an economic administration. Economy is considered as the basic structure for the development of a socialist society while other sub-structures are required to complete the whole aspects of the life of a society.

All these factors which affect development require scientific directive for guiding the tasks of a socialist construction. This is based on matters particularly related to economy and the development of the means of production and technology.

Hence, to fulfill the socialist construction tasks requires proper guidance as to make the maximum benefit of the objective principles of scientific socialism.

The fundamental demands for achieving such proper guidance are to carry out constant educational plans and the overall preparation of Cadres. The achievement of success in these tasks depends on the right selection of Cadres and how they acquire political and ideological education. Then, the distribution of the tasks will be in accordance to the knowledge and activity of the Cadre. This means that the most active cadre will be

assigned to the most challenging task which obligates self-assigned responsibility and a confident sense in decision-making.

This duty of the cadre should be considered as whole and need not be splitted. For this sake the role of leadership demands especial consideration so that the cadre may be equipped with the ability to reach right decisions that fulfill the responsibilities concerning the afore-mentioned tasks.

In the first instance one needs a proper understanding of the significance and definition of the word cadre' as well as the duties of a cadre. Hence, it could be possible to describe and categorize the combined tasks and responsibilities of a cadre.

First, let us see the different meanings the word «Cadre» implies for different people while tracing the transformations that occurred in the meaning of the word in different periods of time.

The origin of the word «cadre» is French and had the denotation of a military term. In precise it carried the meaning of a «unit» or «group of military men with especial skill». In detail, the word used to represent commissioned or non-commissioned officers and it carries this same meaning in military ranks up to now. After several transformations occurred in the meaning of this word it came to be applied in various social tasks until it gradually became fit for usage in workers movements.

Before the success of the workers movements in overtaking the

leadership, the word «Cadre», used to refer to the leaders of the party and other social organizations. But after the victories of the socialist revolution, the meaning of the word «cadre» was used to cover a larger area instead of being confined to leaders.

The political dictionary doesn't give the detailed definition of the word «cadre» as a group of responsible youth who after acquiring planned education are occupied in various tasks of the social life i.e. Party, Government etc.

This definition itself isn't complete and «cadre» could be defined as a group of people who had acquired political education and vocational skill. This group must have the ability to lead the rest of the people by fulfilling an assigned duty or other responsibilities while occupied in an activity that requires leadership. For such status one might either be elected or nominated.

Hence forth, to depict what the word «cadre» compirise one should put into account every member of the workers force or the masses with the required ability. This includes the preparation and education required for the cadre profession. Equally important is the practical experience which proves one's ability to mobilize, lead and fulfill the responsibilities concerning objective matters necessary for the various aspects of the social life.

In another way the main characteristics of a cadre are: belief in the fundamental principles of the

working class, devotion to the revolution, consciousness of responsibility, Creativity and decisiveness in decision-making, respectful personality, love of work, ambition for increasing knowledge, better understanding of scientific and professional education concerning leadership and methods of teaching.

Therefore, every responsible leader who is willing to carry out the responsibility of organizing the construction of a developed socialist society must be attributed to the above mentioned main characteristics.

Now and then as far as we have mentioned the definition and characteristics of a cadre, it is erroneous to confine it to any functionary in the government administration.

Similarly it is wrong to label every individual occupied in a certain job as a cadre. Scientific socialism regards that the categories of a cadre include the following:

Technician, Engineer, Expert, Architect, etc.,

In another way every responsible figure who bears a social obligation can be considered as a cadre when he requires especial training.

The type of training and the obligated services from a responsible figure in a socialist society is quite different from that in a capitalist society. In the preparation of a cadre, scientific socialism puts emphasis on the fulfillment of a planned educational method which is related to the needs of the society for cadres.

The obligations of a revolutionary cadre are so wide that they cover the development of science, technology and the carrying out of the social tasks.

The fulfillment of the leadership obligations requires a certain standard of especialisation. This implies that a technician must have acquired the skill and vocational education of his profession.

In general the word «cadre» implies different meanings in relation to various functions such as: the political cadre, the work or workers cadre. None of these is exactly the same as the other but in the practical aspect it is difficult to isolate each by itself or differentiate their meaning.

To make the matters more clear, let us take as an example the policy of the party and its tasks.

The detailed definition of the party policy is summarized in the path of the party policy i.e. the tactics and the strategy of the party. Similarly the tasks of the party briefly means the application of the policy, the guidance of the society and the fulfillment of the tasks and obligations of the party related to the various aspects of the social life. Up to now we have discussed in a general way the significance, the meaning and the several conditions related to the cadre. The remaining portion is to differentiate the education of the cadre and the various aspects related to the life of the society. We shall discuss these matters in the following issue.

## Culture and Art



# Documenting Soomali History

By Kholi



This article is the last of the series of articles in which I have been discussing the benefits of writing the Somali language. The first article published in the October issue of «Struggle» dealt with the history of the Somali script; specially the benefits of writing the Somali language — as a medium of communication — have been pinpointed. I emphasized the extent to which a written language is capable of promoting the social understanding which is the basis of the smooth relations between the government and the masses. In the second article, I dealt with the role played by the language in «expanding the education

and in enriching the Somali language itself». In this article, we will discuss the language in documenting history and culture.

If you intend to demonstrate how useful is «writing a language» to the history of any nation, you must first of all define the meaning of the term «history». One must ask «what is history?» History, to my understanding, is divided into two categories: one which concerns with mankind and one which covers nature. The history of the nature is concerned with the changes of the climate, with the earth which accommodates the mountains and the trees,

with the sky and the rearing oceans, with all types of animals living either in the waters or on the surface of the earth, and with the strange natural phenomena and universal catastrophes which reoccur every now and the like punctuation. On the other hand, the history of mankind is closely connected with the life of the society. And as man lives on earth and meddles with nature, the two categories are not wholly independent of one another.

Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that history is as old as the planet and its surrounding heavens, with varying dates and ages. If we look it from another angle, history falls into two other branches: recorded history and unrecorded history. Nevertheless, the ancient history which preceeds the time when man was able to write or paint is wholly lost. For this reason it is synonymous with a non-existing history, since it is forgotten and since its experiences, no matter how rich, are unavailable for the benefit of the living generations. A lost historical experience is analogous to a case where rainwater dried before the thirsty livestock had reached for it. It is useless. Hence it is worth ignoring. So let us, instead, discuss historical experiences which are recorded or remembered for the benefit of mankind.

It is because of this fact that the history of the nations on our planet today varies in age and importance. It is also because of this fact that the ancient civilization of

the Greeks, the Romans and the Egyptians are taught in all schools. Once we agree that history is useful to us only in so far as it is ancient but preserved or modern but still fresh in our memories, we must now review the history of Somalia and the place it occupies in the histories of other nations on earth.

If you visit the great museums of the world, there is no doubt that you cannot easily find the early traces of the Somali nation due to the absence of Somali script. It is possible that you may find triking footsteps of our ancient history in certain museums but surely you cannot find a path large enough to lead you to the ancient history of this land in any sufficient details. Even if you are modest enough to limit yourself to our modern history, you will not find much of it recorded; only the scanty information recorded by colonial explorers in books and reports for the last few centuries is obtainable. Since they all had colonial motives, their writings can not represent a genuine picture which can serve as a fair basis for the Somali history, looking from the factual point of view as well as from the point of view of quality and quantity. Since a foreign language can hardly meet the full requirements of a nation, very few books have been written by Somalis in foreign language. Perhaps this is because that the education inherited from the colonial masters fell much shorter than the required level in which we could have otherwise blamed our educated people for not writing books. No matter who writes, very few books have indeed been written about the modern history of Somalia. There are many important areas of the Somali history that remain entirely unattended. A glaring example of this is that

upto now, not a single book was written about the liberation struggle of the Somali youth League (1943-60). Equally, with the exception of some press retrospectives published during the Revolutionary era, no books have been written about the post-independence era (from 1960 to 1969).

Since the October Revolution had taken the courageous step to write Somali language in 1972, several books have been written about the culture, about educational syllabi (upto the secondary level) and about the Dervish struggle led by Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hassas between 1900 and 1921. The most remarkable are the two volumes compiled by Aw Jama Omer Isa who was courageous enough to auction his few camels some 20 years ago in a selfless endeavour to collect the history of the Dervish movement. This does not mean that the history of the movement is fully covered and completed. It means that Aw Jama has done the first step and we should follow suit for there is a lot to write about the Dervishes and their wars against the colonial powers. On their part, both the Academy of Culture and the Ministry of Education have done their best to preserve our dying culture and to provide our youth in schools with books covering all subjects.

However, I would like to urge the founders of the Somali Youth League and those who have been lucky enough to lead the country from independence onwards, to write books about their memories. Surely there is wide room for writing in the modern history of Somalia: politics, the liberation struggle, economy and culture. If everyone writes his memories about important events and episodes, we could have gathered valuable conclusions about our history. Whe-

never I hear of the death announcement of an elder, I feel sorrow, for I know that he might have died with valuable information that will be extremely difficult to retrieve.

A great role is also waiting our elites. They are educated and they have had the chance to see their language written. Therefore, they are duty bound to collect and write the history and the culture of their country. It is interesting to note that the dying elders have left educated sons including doctors and directors. These educated sons must preserve the memories of their fathers at least on paper if not in books. If scribbled, these papers could later be published when the economic opportunity emerges. But it is important that the information must be extracted from the aging fathers.

Our elites who have full command of foreign languages can also help by translating books into Somali so that our students can get sufficient reading material, for this will broaden their knowledge. Specially students who have been learning in Somali are in dire need for such reading materials.

From the governmental side, it is necessary that writers are encouraged in their efforts to collect and publish historical materials. One way of encouraging them is to provide a copy right law which protects the rights of the writers.

In conclusion, everything needs a shelter to protect it; Milk is preserved in containers. History also needs to be preserved and in order to preserve it one must have a container. Its container is the language in which it is preserved for the future generations to read it and make use of it.





## BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS

# On health and development:

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE OCCASION OF THE 1st GRADUATION FROM THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE.**

Comrades and members of the Central Committee distinguished guests and Head of Diplomatic services, distinguished members of the Technical Committee, graduates and fellow Students.

Five years ago we undertook an important step to develop both material and qualified personnel for the health service and prevention against diseases. at that time there were discussions undertaken by members of the SRC and council of secretaries and representatives of the Italian Universities concerning suitability, possibility and the necessity to build a faculty of medicine at the Somali National University.

The obstacles toward this objective were much more than those encouraging points, but if there is a Good-Will, energy and clear targets people can overcome many obstacles hindering their development.

You the new doctors, comrades, are the fruits of that historical decision and you will be the witnesses of the good will, self-confidence and target-orientation by those who were concerned with this subject and the future of Somalia. It can be asked today: why it was necessary to put priority for the building of this faculty? What kind of high confidence where we expecting from that future?

As each one can guess our emphasis was based to establish this faculty in order to encounter one of the major evils against humanity namely diseases. Because it would

not be possible for a nation under colonial or neo-colonial conditions, divided, and tribalised to develop evenly unless it puts emphasis and take fast step to mobilize the political consciousness of the masses, as well to improve their mental and physical health.

Try to consider: What can a sick peasant, whose half of his family suffer from malaria and the other half has Blaharzia do about the Development of the Society?

What can a tubaroulous effected nomad, who is helpless contribute; what is more serious is a women who often encounters difficulties. and often dies for it, and these difficulties are always related to Gynecology. Leaving a side all diseases and health incidents occuring to the masses of the workers, babies and school-children one can imagine that such a people will have no possibility to increase production in a systematic and planned manner. The only thing they can do is to try to survive or look for external aid.

For this reason, in order to overcome these problems one should first face it in a systematic and planned way, because only such a way makes possible to eliminate the low health conditions, which paralyses firstly the inventiveness productivity and capability of the working masses. and the entire society at least.

Considering these problems, the revolutionary Government has strangely advocated the establish-

ment of the medicine faculties, which were impossible other-wise Today we can say that half of the tasks has been accomplished and your professors have achieved their major aim, what remains is your task and duties, which I guess will be many and hard to achieve. It is your task to be mobile and to go to the different parts of the country, wherever there is need, in order to prevent and cure all kind of diseases and to teach the people how they can help themselves about it. It is upon you to study the best ways to cure the patients and find out new methods for scientific and applied research in order to improve the organization and technical know-how of the faculty.

Comrades:

In Nov. 1975 I have summarised our socialist and revolutionary policy on higher education as well as the benefits we were expecting from the graduates in my speech in the graduation ceremony for the Agricultural, Sciences and Social Science Faculties.

Instead of repeating myself, it is better that you organize yourselves in groups in order to study and analyse it properly, because that speech was intended for you and your fellow-students, since the future of Somalia rests on you.

The 21Oct. Revolution has declared new objectives and tasks for the Somali people, tasks which seem hard to achieve. but I was quite sure that they can be achieved. It was a reawakening, It expressed



what the masses felt and desired, and it was intended to make aware of the people, that they can determine by themselves their own future in a frame of a just and democratic, progressive society embracing all segments of the population, since only such a society can eliminate class struggle. We have tried to solve this class conflict in the society through the participation of the masses in the decision making, as well as by indicating the right path toward a just society. Of course it was not possible within this short time to carry out all these historical missions. A country's problems will never end and we have never hid the obstacles and difficulties facing us. What is important is that you understand the Revolution properly and to fulfill its aim and implement its objectives. The problems facing Somalia are numerous, and there are other which might face us in the future. If I try to throw light on them: The very existence of this nation - A nation that has gathered its entire energy to fight against economic and social backwardness - seems to be in jeopardy today.

The only accusation leveled against us is why are we aiding our brothers, who are fighting for their self-determination and independence. The Ethiopian Fascist Regime does not constitute a threat to Somalia, since it cannot handle the struggle waged by the liberation movements, who has liberated No, that is not where the problem lies, it is the intervention of the external forces, who are consolidating their forces to safeguard their strategic interests in the Horn of Africa. These external forces are using the conflict and the liberation wars as a spring board, in order to take advantage of the serious social crisis taking place in imperialist Ethiopia. These social crisis are not of recent origin to justify foreign interference. The Ethiopia. progressi-

ve forces, who are fighting against ADDIS ABABA regime as well as the liberation movements can solve this problem and find effective ways to heal it. Even in case that these crisis might effect the neighbouring areas, it is up to the African states and their organizations to find out the best ways and means to solve it. Hence external intervention does not bring any benefit what so ever. On the contrary, it will harm the situation and increases the hard-hardness of the Ethiopian regime.

Already we can observe how the Ethiopian regime supported by force; has no peace - intentions and does not reconsider the situation. So what remained under these conditions for the Ethiopian progressive forces fighting internally and the liberation movements was to defend their principles and their very existence.

This situation is becoming a danger for the entire regions; from the red sea to the middle east and to the entire world. The signs of this danger can already be felt and the wars may last long time. Many people might ask themselves, if the situation is so, what is the Somalia's stand? truly Somalia's stand seems to be very clear: We have always called for peace, in the last Eight years we put all our efforts on how to find a complete, everlasting and just peace.

In all conferences we took a similar position and informed on this time all the world leaders, whom we expected to do something about it.

Even today we are proposing peace and cooperation although we encounter always deaf-ears and misinterpretation cannot be achieved by a mere wish, nor can it be brought by force. Finding peace requires hard-work, open-mindedness recognition for the people right for independence, dignity and freedom of choice.

Today peace is on the side of

the freedom fighters struggling for their self-determination. Without them no peaceful agreement ever be reached, and anyone who tries to ignore them by any peaceful talk - what his hidden wishes might be - cannot reach any peaceful arrangement.

No body can deny the right of these struggling masses, whose blood is being shed everyday and who are sacrificing both their lives and wealth in their fight against this fascistic colonialism. That is a fact : one has to consider only that, because any thing else such as a lip-service peace or pseudo-proposals will remain as they are namely lip-services.

Let me repeat: although our territory has been violated, although our towns have been bombed, although false propaganda were spread against us, as far as we are concerned we call for a peace.

Because we are looking for the future, your future comrades and the future of the millions of the youth who are needed to build in this part of the world a strong base for brotherhood, understanding and progress. We are sure that we will be supported in this issue by many nations, who are our friends and other who believe in human dignity and civilization who would not deny to transmit their knowledge and experience to us they always have done.

In this print, although I cannot summarize the names of those who has really, helped us. I would confine my self by the example of professor paride stefanini and elio vianello, who has contributed greatly in the creation and organization of this faculty. I would like also to thank all those who have worked with them, and many heads and

But I guess we would have been professors of the different Italian Universities, although some of them seem to take part with us this historical occasion.

faced with great constraints without the support of the Italian people and Government. In this day of your graduation, we owe to all those agencies who make great sacrifices and people who by their hard-work contributed for establishment of this faculty, great

thanks and respects.

I ask the distinguished Minister Bassi, and the Italian Embassador in Somalia to convey our thanks to the Italian people. I convey my thanks also to Somali heads, professors and officers by fulfilling their national duty.

Lastly I Congratntate the doctors, and I hope that you will be aware of the major task facing you in the future and I thank the Ministry and the Somali national University who administers this faculty, our distinguished guests and other guests in this Hall.

# A Review on Bibliographical Survey of Somalia



By A. Y. Duale

Somalia: a Bibliographical survey 1977. 468 P. (Compiled by Mohamed Khalif Salad) special Bibliographical services. New Ser. No. 4 price U.S. \$22.50 available from publishers. African Bibliographical centre P.O. Box 13095 Washington c 20009 U.S.A.

«Authors of books about Somaliland take as little regard of boundaries as do the Somalis themselves» These were the words of Mr. N. M. Viney, once a British colonial Administrator in introducing his brief «Bibliography of British Somaliland». Mr. Salad who compiled this newly published bibliography on Somalia maintains the same idea with the stronger faith of a Somali who suffers the colonisation and balkanisation of his country, the legacy of colonial partition of Africa which was nothing more than «a consequence of the Berlin Conference in 1884 with all the accompanying injustices of the scramble of Africa». So it is only natural to find the book covering the entire territory of the Somali Nation thus demonstrating through the compilation of the books and other material written mainly by those who dismembered our nation our natural unity.

It took him ten long years to compile this magnificent work. He had to visit places like Wa-

shington, London, Paris and Rome— thanks to a grant by UNESCO — to undergo the tiresome digging into libraries like that of the Library of Congress, the British Museum, the colonial office library, The (British Foreign Office Library, the (British) war office library, School of Oriental and African studies, University of London Libraries as well as the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II of Rome, Istituto Agronomico Per l'oltremare. Florence; Istituto Italiano per l'Africa, Rome and lastly Bibliotheque National Paris.

On top of this he consulted all libraries of different institution in Somalia. The result of this effort was this book of bibliographical survey on Somalia, the most comprehensive ever published in this field.

Visits to Russia and Germany should have been made as the compiler states for they «hold some invaluable collection of historical importance—maps, anthropology and exploration of Somalia» Dipository Libraries in Turkey and India should have also been visited for the same reason. With the former we had contacts since early 15th Century while British Somaliland was ruled from India governorate as late as 1923.

But the compiler being alone in all that he did with exception of

a grant given to him by UNESCO is not only absolved from blame but hailed for this great achievement.

The languages areas covered in the book are English, Italian, French, German and Somali. Arabic has not been covered as the compiler clearly states in his introduction of the book describing this as «a tolerable weakness», reason for omission being as he again states in the introduction that «titles in Arabic about Somalia were comparatively few in number and was not recorded systematically in any library». Here I have my reservation and a visit to Dar-Al-Kutub in Cairo will put this assumption aside.

Although the Book is not covering early or medieval writings Somali's contact with Egypt goes back to the days of Hashapsut. Arab historians, Geographers and travellers have written a good material on this part of Africa long ago. Among those are Al-Masudi (935) Al-Istikhari (960) Ibn-Hawqal (977) Al-Bairuni (1030) Al-Bakri (1067) Al-Idrisi (1154) Al-Aquut Al-Hamawi (1229) Ibn Said (1344) and Ibn Batuta (1331). Contemporary Arab writers have written considerable material on this area. I hope the day would come when Mr. Salad or someone else would take the trouble to fill this gap.

The book is divided into 17 chapters and two addendums. There are chapters with as many as 14 subdivisions like the 1st Chapter on Agriculture. To get an idea of the comprehensiveness of this work, entries in Chapter XII politics, Government and administration are well over 300 entries comprising books and articles in papers and periodicals. Almost 4000 titles of «Books as well as grey literature material like agriculture, geography anthropology and politics and administration» are covered in this book.

The period covered in the book «starts with exploration - cum colonial period followed by post-colonial or independence era. The latest date of titles appearing in the book is 1975».

With Somalia in world news from mid July 1977, since the

flare up of the liberation war waged by WSLF and ALF against the Ethiopian colonial Empire: the compiler rendered invaluable series to all those screaming for historical background information on the troubled Horn of Africa.

Mr. Salad a self made man who educated himself and after receiving his training as a librarian in Great Britain, Nigeria and the United States became the librarian of the Somali national university from 1965 to 1969 and then was appointed research librarian of the Central Bank of Somalia, a post he resigned four months ago. He is now a free-lance writer who turned to creative writing and his first work of poetry in English. «The Patheon of Punt» is going to be published by the Lafole Faculty of Education early 1978. Our librarian turned - poet has a number of unpublished short sto-

ries too. Some of his poetry has been already published in literary magazines outside Somalia.

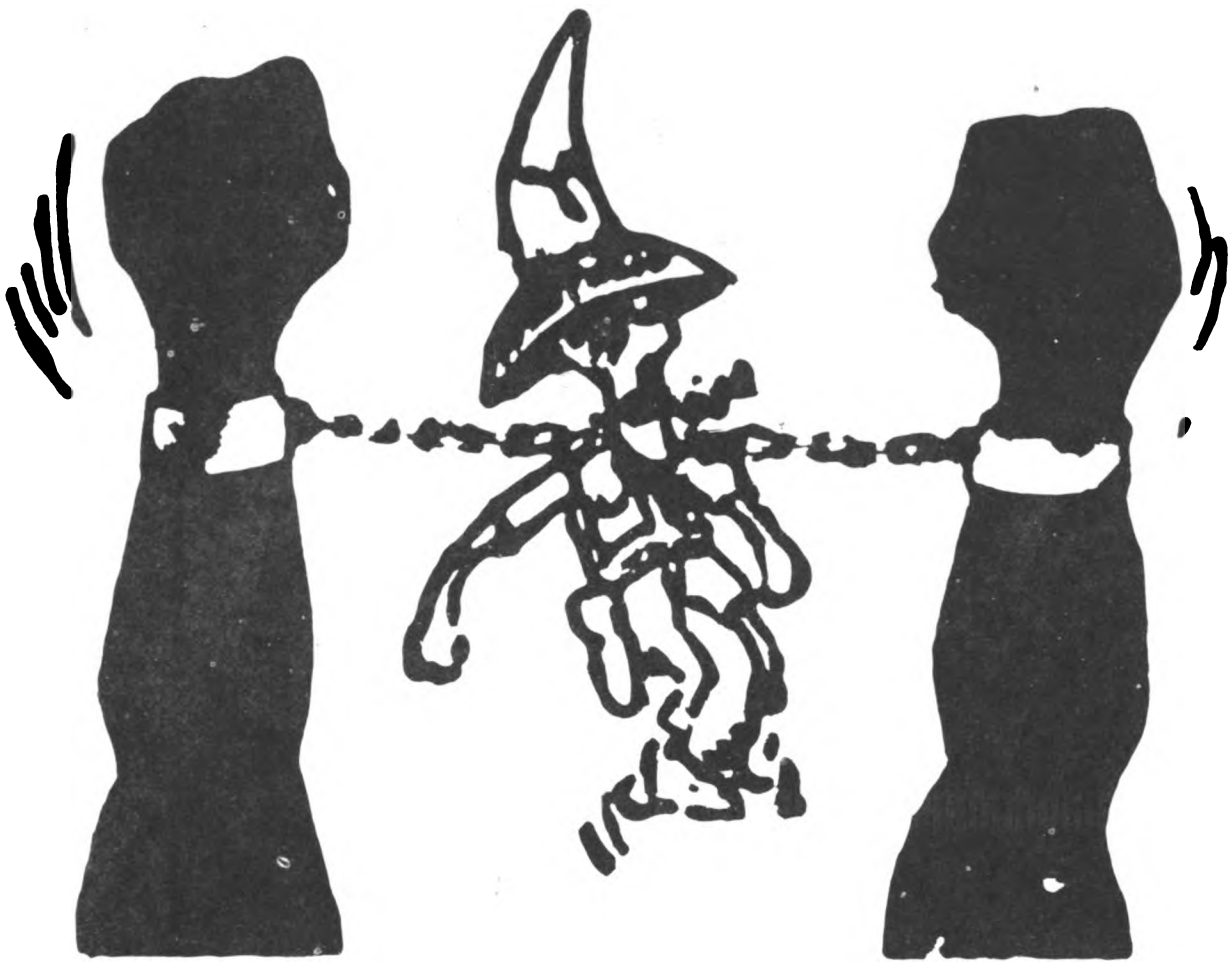
Though institutions like the academy of Somali Culture, the Ministry of Higher Education and Culture and many individuals have tried to compile a bibliographical survey of Somalia, yet Salad's work is invaluable the first of it's kind.

These institutions should welcome this book, with thanks and place it in its proper place in the Somali library. They should also take it as a firm foundation for any further research in the field of bibliography on Somalia.

Mr. Salad's duty as a compiler in the field of bibliography must not end with this book. It should be the start and may creative writing - with our love for it - not rob us of this industrious and patient compiler.

**«THE ETHIOPIAN REGIME IS CLEARLY NOT ONLY UNWILLING TO SOLVE ITS COLONIAL PROBLEMS, BUT ALSO IS NO LONGER CAPABLE OF CONTAINING THE ADVANCES OF THE LIBERATION FORCES STRUGGLING FOR THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS NO WONDER THAT THE REGIME SHOULD TRY TO FIND AN ESCAPE GOAT FOR ITS FAILURE».**

From the speech of  
Jaalle Siad, delivered  
on the 8th Anniversary  
of the October 1969  
Revolution.



Racism can be eliminated  
through African Unity





Mogadisho - City of antiquity

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